# FRAGIST

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(Incorporated 1918

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# SUFFRAGIST

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## THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

*Resolved*, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

## METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

# An Editorial

WE have reached the point where it remains only to wind up the campaign for the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

When the ratification proclamation was issued on August twenty-sixth, there was no margin of safety in the bare thirty-six ratifications which had then been secured, and the amendment was endangered by lawsuits pending and threatened both in the national courts and in Tennessee.

Connecticut has now provided the thirty-seventh state and removed all anxiety as to women's voting in the coming elections.

There remains only the protection of the amendment against legal attack. In Tennessee, the one case before the court is the suit of supersedeas in connection with the injunction against the Governor's issuance of the certificate of ratification. This suit is returnable in December, but the anti-suffragists had announced that they would move to have it heard during the September term of the court. They have, however, so far taken no steps to do this and the general impression is that they have abandoned litigation in Tennessee.

The other case still before the courts is the appealed injunction suit brought in the District of Columbia and scheduled for a hearing before the District Circuit Court of Appeals on October 4th. This suit is based on charges of illegality in the ratification of Missouri, Tennessee, New Hampshire, Arkansas and West Virginia.

The District Attorney of the District of Columbia has moved that this case be dismissed. Although it has so far taken no action, the court may at any moment dismiss the suit. In view of this situation, it is believed probable that the anti-suffragists will soon recognize their defeat and give up their attacks against the validity of the amendment.

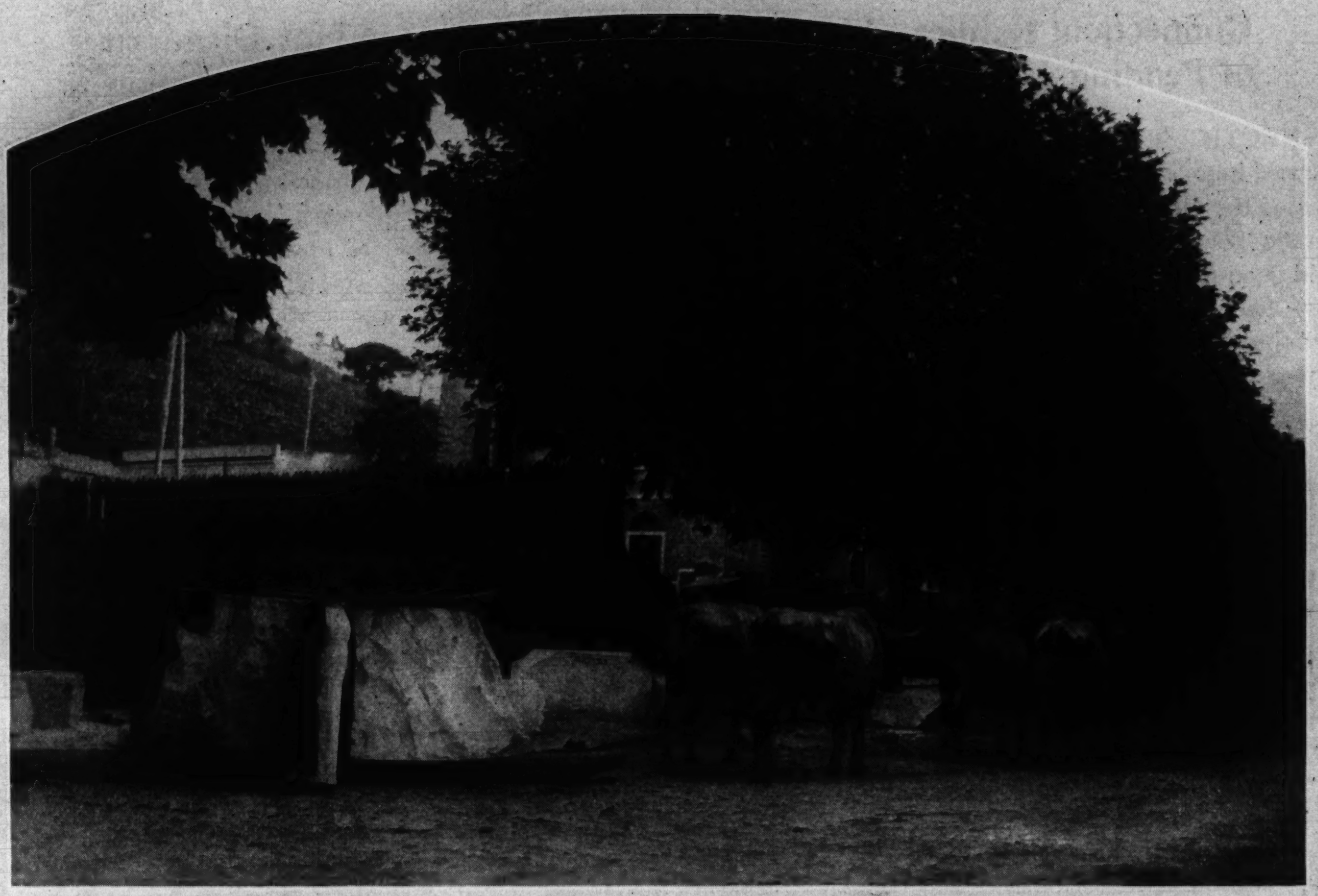
In addition to the protection of the amendment, it has been necessary to provide against local interferences in any of the states with the right of women to vote under the amendment, either by refusal to register women or admit them to the polls or by failure to supply the machinery necessary for their registration and voting.

Special enabling legislation has already been passed by the legislatures of Connecticut, Maryland, Mississippi, Virginia, Minnesota, North Carolina, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. From the attorney generals of all other states the Woman's Party has secured statements that no special legislation is required to enable women to participate in the coming elections.

Within a few weeks these final details concerning the suffrage amendment and the power of women to vote in November will be arranged. The Woman's Party will then hold its national convention to consider its future course.

From this block of marble are being carved the heads of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, to be presented later to the national capitol where they will stand as a lasting memorial to the three great pioneers in the woman's revolution and to all those who aiding and following them carried that revolution to final victory.

Adelaide Johnson, friend of Miss Anthony, who made the original model of Miss Anthony's head from life, is now in Italy completing her work. In the grove at Seravezza, from a forest of marbles, she herself chose the great eight-ton block of white, glistening stone.



Meeting the mountain train at dawn, Mrs. Johnson walked beside the marble while four slow teams of oxen drew it to her studio at Carrara, which itself lies among mountain peaks. Here, the monument, conceived more than thirty years ago, when the victory of women was no more than a vision, is being completed to celebrate and to immortalize their triumph; here "are being cast into the immortal repose of true marble, the features of the three—Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who initiated, and Susan B. Anthony, who for more than half a century guided the greatest and the most unique of revolutions, the woman's revolution."

"I am never away," Mrs. Johnson says, "from the consciousness that possibly thousands of years from now this marble may be telling its story and that it is my care as to how that story is told through all time."

# Making Victory Doubly Sure

## Connecticut Ratifies—Maryland Tries Again—Demand for Dismissal of Pending Lawsuits—the Tennessee Supreme Court Delays Action

CONNECTICUT Trying to Catch Up" was the slogan carried in an ox-cart by Hon. Samuel S. Shaw, member of the House of Representatives in the first suffrage parade held in Connecticut in May, 1914. That slogan held good to the last, for Connecticut was still trying to catch up when she ratified the Federal Suffrage Amendment after thirty-six other states had ratified and after the ratification proclamation had been issued.

### Governor Holcomb Immovable

Governor Marcus Holcomb issued a call for a special session of the Connecticut legislature to meet on September 14th, immediately upon ratification by the Tennessee Legislature. The call stated that the special session was to provide the legal machinery to enable women to vote in the coming election. There is no doubt in the minds of the suffragists that if Governor Holcomb had felt that there was any question as to the legality of Tennessee's ratification at the time he was considering issuing the call it would never have been sent out, for Governor Holcomb has consistently fought every measure pertaining to woman suffrage that has been introduced in the Connecticut Legislature during his three terms of office. The Federal Amendment passed Congress on June 4, 1919. Ever since that time an intensive campaign has been directed upon the Governor by the suffragists of Connecticut in an effort to make him call a special session for the purpose of ratification. The Governor refused to accede either to this demand of the suffragists, to repeated appeals from his party, or to the demands of the members of the legislature, a majority of whom petitioned him to call the session. It was only when he believed ratification was in effect that the call was sent out. Even then the Governor, so great was his opposition to suffrage, apparently could not bring himself to transmit to the legislature for action, the message sent by Congress to all the states on the passage of the amendment.

### The Last Opposition Manoeuvre

The legislature met at 11 o'clock on September 14. The Governor read his message to the General Assembly as to the reason for calling the session. Then, making his last play to the opposition, he proclaimed a special session to meet on Tuesday, September 21st, stating that in his mind there was some question as to legality of Tennessee's ratification, and as he wanted no legal tangling regarding the handling of the suffrage question in Connecticut, he felt that ratification of the 19th amendment should precede the enactment of any legislation enabling women to vote. This proved a boomerang for suffrage. One could hear a pin drop as the Governor concluded his message—then the real activity for suffrage began. Friends of suffrage rushed out of the House to confer with leaders in the Senate and with the leaders of both parties, most of whom were on hand to see ratification go through. During the recess an informal conference was held by leaders of both parties. The consensus of opinion at the conference was that ratification of the amendment should be brought up immediately.

Following the recess, Mr. King, of Windham, introduced a resolution providing for ratification of the suffrage amendment. In accepting the bill Speaker Walsh stated, "the Chair rules that the bill is in order. Every legislature is a law unto itself." The vote was taken at once, 216 members of the House voting for ratification, and 11 against. The resolution was then sent to the Senate and was passed immediately by a unanimous vote of the 33 members.

### Quick Action!

Within ten minutes the joint resolution was in the hands of the Secretary of State. Copies of the resolution were prepared for the signatures of the Speaker of the House, of the Senate and the Secretary of State, and at 4 o'clock the resolution was ready for transmission to the Secretary of State of the United States for permanent record at Washington. It was suggested to the Secretary of State that a special representative take the record to Washington immediately and it fell to my lot to be the official messenger. I had worked for suffrage in Connecticut in the 1915 and 1917 legislatures; I had picketed the White House and struggled for the passage of the amendment in Congress, giving up hope even of ratification by Connecticut; I had worked as an organizer of the National Woman's Party in the ratification campaign in other states and had just returned from the hard fight in Tennessee. It was with a sense of triumph that I shall probably never feel again that I left Hartford with the proof of Connecticut's ratification in my hand.

The ratification resolution was received by Secretary Colby at the State Department in Washington, at 11:30 on Wednesday morning, September 15th, and Connecticut thus became officially the 37th state to ratify.

Governor Holcomb held that inasmuch as he had not transmitted the message of the Secretary of State concerning the passage of the amendment in Congress, to the legislature, that the action of the legislature is not legal.

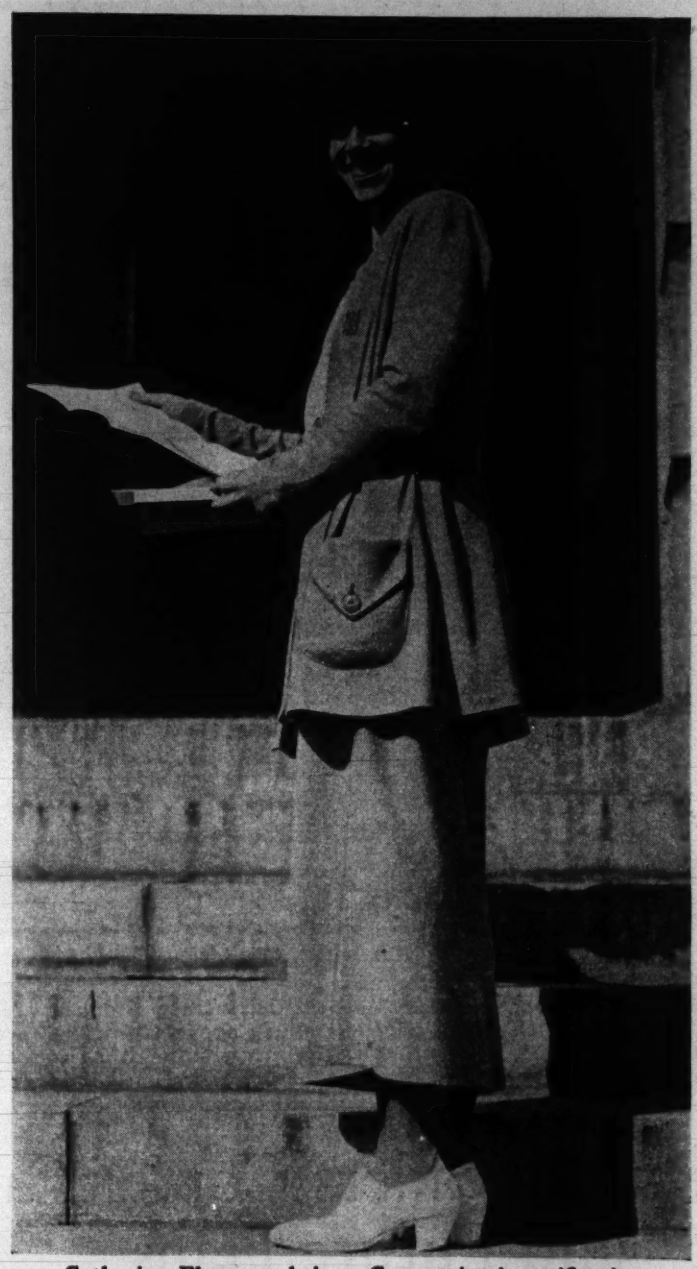
The legislature adjourned to meet on Tuesday, September 21st. The Governor transmitted the message at this session and it was again ratified by a vote of 198 to 9 in the House and by a unanimous vote in the Senate.

### Senator Brandegee Reconsiders

Senator Frank B. Brandegee, who voted against the passage of the Federal Amendment by Congress, and who has also made most damaging speeches against women in general on the floor of the Senate when the Federal Amendment was before it for action, came out the eleventh hour for rati-

fication by the Connecticut legislature, and sent the following letter to Col. Isaac Ullman, a Republican leader in the state.

> "In view of the fact that the validity of the ratification of the amendment by the state of Tennessee has been questioned and that the result of the entire election throughout the country may be imperilled thereby, and in consideration of the fact that the amendment is certain to be ratified by more than the required number of states as soon as their legislatures assemble, I earnestly hope that the legislature of Connecticut will promptly ratify the amendment.
>
> "The country has decided that women shall have the right to vote. I am convinced, therefore, that this right should be made unquestionable by the action of as great a number of states as is possible before the coming election, so that women may participate in every respect on an equality with men."



**Catherine Flanagan brings Connecticut's ratification certificate to Secretary of State Colby.**

Mr. Brandegee is running for Senator at the coming election. Senator George McLean, who always opposed suffrage in Congress, made a speech before the Republican Convention a few days previous to the meeting of the Connecticut legislature in which he urged the party to ratify suffrage before passing an enabling act.

Of the more progressive group of Republicans in the legislature who have long fought for suffrage may be counted Senator John B. Dillon, Lieut. Governor Clifford Wilson, Senator Charles E. Williamson, Senator William H. Heald, and Senator Arthur E. Bowers, and Representative Harry R. Sherwood.

Senator Charles C. Hemenway, Democratic leader in the Senate, and editor of the Hartford *Times*, has been one of the most valuable workers in the legislature.

### Some Members of the Suffrage Honor Roll

While it is encouraging to look back and to be able to count many good friends among the legislators for suffrage, the suffragists themselves may take all the credit for Connecticut's final action. Ever since the first suffrage organization, "The Equal Rights Club" was formed in Connecticut in 1868, with Isabella Beecher Hooker as its president, the women of Connecticut have introduced bills and worked for woman suffrage through every session of the legislature. Among the pioneers who began work for suffrage in the "Equal Rights Club," were Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon, for many years its president, and the first woman member of the School Board in Connecticut, Mrs. Alexander Troup, Sr., of New Haven, who died on Tuesday, the day Connecticut ratified; Miss Ellen Burr, of Hartford. Mrs. John L. Pinches, of New Britain, and Mrs. Alta Starr Cressey. Mrs. Ella B. Kendrick, for many years vice-president of the "Equal Rights Club," was at the legislature on Tuesday working as vigorously as ever for suffrage. Among the Connecticut suffrage leaders of recent years are Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, for seven years president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, and now state chairman of the Woman's Party, Mrs. Josephine B. Bennett, former treasurer of the state association and now treasurer of the Connecticut branch of the Woman's Party, Miss Emily Pierson, first state organizer, Miss Katherine Mullen, New Haven, county organizer, Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, who through the last twelve years has kept the Connecticut press informed of the suffrage campaigns, state and national, and Mrs. George H. Day, who through all these years has been in charge of the membership lists of the suffrage organizations.

Miss Katharine Ludington, now president of the Connecticut Woman Suffrage Association, has carried on a most vigorous suffrage campaign in Connecticut since her election to the presidency of that organization in November, 1917, and it was largely due to her persistent effort that the Government called the session "to provide the legal machinery to enable women to vote at the coming election." The ratification campaign in the state has been entirely under her direction and it was due to her campaign that the overwhelming victory for suffrage was won as soon as the legislature met.

(*Continued to page* 249)

*Photo by International*

**Members and officers attending the conference photographed on the steps of Mrs. Belmont's home. Left to right, in the front row, are: Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, advisory council; Miss Lucy Branham, Miss Ella Riegel, advisory council; Miss Mary Ingham, Pennsylvania chairman (standing a little above); Mrs. Florence Kelley, advisory council; Alice Paul, national chairman; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, executive committee; Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, advisory council; Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman; Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, advisory council; Mrs. John Jay White, advisory council; Miss Elsie Hill, national organizer.**

# Woman's Party Leaders Confer On Present and Future Plans

THE first conference of officers of the Woman's Party held since the ratification of the suffrage amendment did not pause for congratulations on the triumph just achieved. Or rather, it did pause on the $10,000 deficit left from the Tennessee campaign, but only long enough to pledge the raising of that sum within the next few weeks.

The whole viewpoint of the meeting was that of women faced toward the future. Its tone was one of earnest acceptance of a great responsibility. Questions, debates and vigorous speeches eddied round the central point: should the Woman's Party continue and if so, toward what end?

The women who met at Mrs. Belmont's home at Port Washington, Long Island, on September 10th, were members of the national executive committee, the advisory council, and the state chairmen and national officers from nearby states. The occasion was the regular monthly meeting of the national executive committee which this time the other officers mentioned were invited to attend in order that a more general expansion of opinions on the continuance and future program of the Woman's Party could be secured.

The first business of the meeting was prompt action upon the treasurer's report, which showed $10,000 needed to cover the deficit resulting from the Tennessee campaign. Among the pledges made to cover this amount were $2,000 from Mrs. Belmont, $500 from the Ohio branch, $2,000 from the Pennsylvania branch, $200 from the Massachusetts branch and $100 from Mrs. Florence Kelley.

The present status of the amendment and of suffrage litigation were explained by Miss Paul. The meeting endorsed the plan to protect suffrage interests in the courts through the employment of counsel, if necessary. It also agreed that all possible assistance should be given the campaigns for ratification at the special legislative sessions already called in Connecticut and Maryland. Ratification by additional states was held advisable in order to further safeguard the amendment against pending and threatened litigation.

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**Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Hostess to the Conference**

The choice of a date for the national convention of the Woman's Party was postponed until such time as pending litigation should be disposed of and the amendment duly protected by ratification in at least one additional state.

The question of whether the Woman's Party should disband or should take up a new program, was then informally discussed. Everyone agreed that the struggle for full equality for women had just begun—and that women must still struggle to break down barriers opposed to their free activity on equal terms with men. Some of the obvious instances of discrimination against women that were cited were the attempt, even since suffrage ratification, to prevent women from running for office, unequal guardianship laws, antiquated marriage and divorce laws, the disfranchisement of women who marry aliens, the exclusion of women from responsible and well-paid positions in government, in professions and in industry.

Having granted the necessity for further agitation by women, discussion ensued as to the most practical method for securing woman's complete equality—whether, for instance, women should enter existing parties and bore from within or whether, staying outside the parties, they should pursue a campaign based on the political strategy used by the Woman's Party to win suffrage.

In general, the need was admitted for some sort of woman's political organization ready to attack parties and candidates opposing woman's political and social freedom, and holding the potential balance of power.

There remained the question of whether the Woman's Party should undertake to form such an organization. The answer to this question, it was pointed out, must depend somewhat upon a survey of the scope of existing women's organizations.

No final decision on these questions was possible, of course, at the informal conference of women gathered at Mrs. Belmont's. The Woman's Party in its coming convention will decide the future of the organization, but the opinions of the women at the conference are significant because they are the opinions of those who have taken a leading part in the hard and long campaign for suffrage.

Mrs. Belmont's spirited speech for an independent Woman's Party opened the discussion. This was followed by speeches advocating the continuance of the Woman's Party by Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. John Rogers, Miss Crystal Eastman and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, all members of the national executive committee or of the Advisory Council, by Dr. Gillette Hayden, Ohio state chairman, and by Mrs. Agnes Morey, Massachusetts state chairman, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman, and Miss Lucy Burns, emphasizing the importance of an adequate endowment fund and the personal responsibility of each individual, if so important an endeavor were undertaken. There seemed general agreement on the advisability of continuing the Party. There were various opinions as to the program which such a party should adopt and as to the methods it should use in carrying out this program. Several of the opinions expressed at the conference are included in the symposium which follows this article.

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## TO ALICE PAUL

O WOMAN in your own prophetic hour
Anathema to all the unthinking horde
But terrible as is the flaming sword
A soul on fire, which is earth's mightiest power.

You go forth calm when all is insecure
No thought of self obscures your vision keen.
Your path lies clear, by other eyes unseen
The rest may doubt and falter; you are sure.

O potent spirit in frail flesh enshrined,
Transcending every bond of time and place,
You follow light, though shadows shroud your face
And those around you blindly think you blind.

But myriad women, countless destinies,
Shall know the secret of your mystic eyes.

—A. L. W.

# WHAT NEXT?

**Women face the future with immense power in their hands. How will they use it? The *Suffragist* has asked women prominent in various fields of activity to answer the question, What shall women do next? Their replies begin in this number**

**Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont**

WOMEN have fought for what they have won in politics as well as in every other field. The vote came to them after a century-long struggle against the greatest odds. We owe nothing—not the least part of our new political freedom—to the old political parties. Our victory has come, not because of them, but in spite of them. We can face the future with a clean political slate.

Women are too prone to give without asking for return and politicians are apt to take advantage of this trait. The widespread tendency among a certain group of women to scramble into the ranks of the old party machines, lending to them the priceless value of their enthusiasm, energy and political gifts, accepting in return miserable doles of political patronage, is to me a very sad spectacle. I want women to have more self-respect, both for their own good and that of the nation.

For I believe that women have a distinct contribution to make to the national good, and that they should be permitted to make it in their own way.

As a means toward securing the fullest contribution from women in our national life, I favor the continuation of the National Woman's Party as a separate political entity, affiliated with no other party, but forming a strategic balance of power group. This organization, united upon a program of equality for women in all spheres, political, industrial and social, could fight for its objects with the weapons of politics—votes. Candidates and parties opposing its measures would be opposed by it. Women candidates for office would be encouraged. Where candidates satisfactory to us were advanced by other parties they would be supported. Otherwise we would nominate candidates of our own.

Obvious planks for the platform of a woman's party occur at once. It should no longer be possible to disfranchise women because of their marriage with aliens. Equal guardianship laws, the removal of any restrictions against office holding by women, are other reforms which should be immediately fought for.

Through a woman's party the ballot may be made the symbol of a new era in which the voice of women shall be heard in the councils of the nation, from the lowest to the highest.

* * *

**Harriot Stanton Blatch**

IN winning the vote all was not won. Indeed the ballot is but a tool in the hands of women for the winning of the realities. The politically enfranchised woman is still in need of social and economic enfranchisement. And never was the hour more pressing for her emancipation.

How shall she accomplish her object? Shall she go into one of the existing parties and achieve her freedom through the instrument of party politics? Shall she build a party of her own, or shall she build rather a program and force it through by acting as a nonpartisan force outside party lines?

As many of the things which women want and need form no part of party platforms, it would seem as if feminist propaganda would make small headway under party standards. By all means let women who find in this or that party, principles dealing with several political and economic questions with which they are in agreement, adopt party affiliation, and let them insist upon full recognition of their sex in party management, but when these steps have been taken, each thoughtful woman will find, that though she is expressing quite legitimately her differences of opinion with other women who have aligned themselves with opposite parties, there remain deep and vital questions upon which women of all shades of opinion can and should unite.

It does not seem to me the best way to meet this situation is to create a separate political party, for the reason that on many questions there is no distinctive sex view. There is a Socialist view as to how subways should be financed and managed in contrast to the view of the old parties, but there is in no sense a feminist point of view. In the same way there is a Democratic and Republican manner of regarding the tariff, while there is no distinctively feminine opinion on the question. It seems to me our main object is to forward a program. And no energy should be wasted in building an elaborate machine to accomplish our end.

In order to push the fundamental agreements of women the need is for a nonpartisan, strongly knit group. It is for this reason that I favor the Woman's Party continuing as it is today—namely outside political affiliations, but very much in politics.

The long heartbreaking march towards political freedom for women is ended. The reason it is so difficult to realize that the goal has been reached, is, perhaps, because there seems no chance to pause and take breath as other needs stand facing us impellingly.

I. The most immediate call to action is the need to influence without delay final decisions in international agreements. There should be no League of Nations built up without an effort on the part of enfranchised women to write into such an instrument as a qualification for membership a nation's recognition of women as part of its body politic. Or, if admitted to the League, a nation disfranchising its women should enjoy only curtailed powers. Strangely enough, there is no democratic standard for admission as the covenant now stands. In

any just League the test of a nation's power should be its democracy at home. If a country's voting strength is based on aristocracy, on property, on sex distinctions, by just so much restriction should its power suffer as the international centre. When countries begin to feel the unwisdom of degrading women politically, they will mend their ways. The enfranchised women of America, through pressure brought by a Woman's Party, broadening perhaps to an International Woman's Party, could be instrumental in bringing political freedom to the women of the world.

II. A second piece of work close at hand ready for a Woman's Party to undertake is amendment of the 1907 law dealing with the citizenship of married women. And here a world-embracing Woman's Party could function with advantage. Woman's love of country has long enough been a football for her sons to kick about the globe. In regard to these two issues, there could not arise partisan differences between women. They could be of any party and yet unite in furthering a sane foundation for the citizenship of women, and in advocating a democratic basis for qualification for membership in a League of Nations.

III. Nor would divergence arise among women within national boundaries in demands for equality between the sexes in the civil service, for a square deal in politics, in professions, in business, in industry, for the righting of inequalities in divorce laws, in rights of parents, in educational opportunities.

IV. And behind all such social and economic demands lies the most important item in the Woman's program—namely, the endowment of motherhood. Every woman, whether the wife of a millionaire or a day laborer, will in the world builded by women, be made to feel that society honors motherhood sufficiently to raise it above all sordid dependence.

It seems clear that to achieve these and other planks of a purely feminist character a union of women is needed armed with the shield of nonpartisanship, and the rapier of political technique such as suffrage groups have developed.

The vote was won by disfranchised women acting as a well-knit, nonpartisan group; surely enfranchised women can win complete freedom for their sex as a trained, nonpartisan Woman's Party.

* * *

**Florence Kelley**

AS one-half the constituency our power is immeasurably great. The year 1920-21 can be made the fit sequel to the year 1848, when, at Seneca Falls, our foremothers made their beginning of that peaceful political revolution now so nearly achieved throughout the western world.

It would be a disaster for the whole planet if we now failed to act in accordance with the greatness of our opportunity.

Each of the following suggestions relates to one or two central aims, *i. e.*, completing the voters' power as citizens or enabling woman to perform more perfectly their especial share in the experience of the race, giving, saving and cherishing life. How far they have been frustrated in this is glaringly shown by existing bad laws, and by good bills lagging on the calendar or in the committee in both houses of Congress.

Our first use of our national political power should aim at immediate improvement of the personnel and activities of Congress. Women should be elected wherever suitable candidates willing to serve can be found. Where it is too late for the primaries but nomination by petition is still available, no effort should be spared to obtain at once for women the balance of power in both Houses.

Anti-suffragists should be retired from elective office. Though still perniciously active, they belong, like cannibals and slaveholders, to a past era.

However incompletely Congress may be modernized in the brief interval allowed us this year, this policy should be inaugurated now and maintained in the face of all future discouragements.

**"I favor the continuation of the National Woman's Party, as a separate political group, affiliated with no other party but holding a strategic balance of power."—Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont.**

**"Continue as the Party is today—outside political affiliations, but very much in politics."—Harriot Stanton Blatch.**

**"Obtain at once for women the balance of power in both Houses."—Florence Kelley.**

**"Tackle the problem of education so that within a generation or two poverty would cease to exist."—Rheta Childe Dorr.**

**"Vote for the men and measures that will make for a cleaner America—cleaner morally, mentally and physically."—Ida Clyde Clark.**

**"Avoid making any political affiliations which it will embarass us to dissolve."—Mary Austin.**

*1.—Completing the Voters' Power*

At the short session we begin to bring the federal statutes into harmony with those articles of the Constitution which guarantee freedom of speech, press and assemblage. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments are still in the Constitution. The Susan B. Anthony amendment applies to all women citizens. In a democratic industrial republic, elections from which masses or classes are excluded by reason of color or opinion are shams, and elections which are not preceded by full and free discussion, shared by the whole adult citizenship, are a mockery.

The naturalization statute making a woman's citizenship depend upon that of her husband obviously awaits repeal, together with the sedition laws, and all those provisions for deportation which rob this country of its former glory as the refuge of the oppressed of all the earth.

With the sedition and political deportation laws must

go all federal taboos upon knowledge. Any law that abridges the liberty of adult citizens to acquire knowledge—any and all knowledge—is an unbearable insult to the intelligence of the American people.

The federal government does not fully respond to the will of the voters for want of a federal budget, clear and all-inclusive. Until an honest budget law is passed, masses of voters will pay taxes incurred for purposes which they regard as immoral and ruinous.

Much can be done in the short session. And if any step be slow of accomplishment, that is a reason the more for starting. It is for voting women now to demonstrate our confidence in the orderly processes of the law by adopting—and by baffling every attempt of reactionaries to defer—a program to atone for the suffering caused by past neglect and delay.

*II.—Life Saving*

At the head of the list of measures cruelly delayed stands the Sheppard-Towner bill for public protection of maternity and infancy. It lags in committee in the House, and on the calendar in the Senate. Because it fails of enactment, the United States continue to suffer an annual loss of native-born citizens amounting to a quarter million who die before they reach the first birthday. Mothers by thousands continue to die of preventable dangers attending childbirth. This measure can *readily* be passed by the 66th Congress.

Second only to the Sheppard-Towner bill is the anti-lynching bill. The fact must be faced that lynching is more than ever frequent and widespread, and among its victims are women both colored and white.

Enfranchisement opens the way for women to participate in freeing this planet from the oldest and most terrible curse from which mankind suffers. We can now help effectively to abolish war.

In the agelong journey from the jungle, our race has left behind cannibalism, chattel slavery, and serfdom, the East Indian suttee, and the public exposure of girl babies for the purpose of destruction. Civilization has survived the Spanish Inquisition, witchburning, and the disfranchisement of women. But war outlives them all.

This fact challenges American women to include in our first national political program joint resolutions for amendment to the Constitution to abolish the war powers of the government. The *time* to abolish war is now; the place to begin is *here*.

Naturally the introduction of these measures carries with it the obligation to enlist the organized help of women voters everywhere to bring to bear the united conscience of women of the whole world.

If as millions of men and women believe, the industrial basis of present society involves war, we can now by our votes join in the peaceful change of that industrial basis. We can help to remove the legislative obstacles to self-government and cooperation in production and distribution. We can lead the way towards a world of peaceful cooperation as our foremothers, seventy-two years ago, blazed the trail towards a world of political equality.

The war has taught that the means of destruction at the command of irresponsible powers are such that, within calculable time, this planet must be inhabited by a peaceful, cooperative population, or it will be a desert waste. Of all lifesaving opportunities offered to women by their new national political power, this is the most magnificent and the most solemn.

* * *

**Rheta Childe Dorr**

I THINK what women must do, as soon as they become voters, is to survey their national situation, not from the narrow point of view of reforming the surface morals of their countrymen, but from the standpoint of experts in race improvement. The world is in a mess, and the spectacle of women trying to extricate it from the mess by applying moral mustard plasters like anti-cigarette or even anti-liquor laws, makes me tired. You can't get the world out of the morass into which it has fallen except by heroic means. Women should find out the essentials of reform, and let all the rest of it go.

Personally I believe that the first essential is more and better education, not alone book education, but education of the bodies and souls, as well as the minds of people, to make them understand their place in the universe as efficient, useful, productive agents. I should like the humblest workman to respect himself and his work as highly as Paderewski or Rodin or any other artists, dead or living, respected their work. I should like to see women tackle the problem of education so that within a generation or two mankind would be so efficient that poverty would cease to exist. The thing is perfectly possible, and the abolition of poverty is a thousand times more worth while than the abolition of great wealth.

I should like women to go to work scientifically to banish preventable disease. It can be done. General Wood showed us that in Cuba. In short what I think women should turn their attention to is the general raising of the low level on which society is based. This is, of course, the exact reverse of the Bolshevist theory, which seeks to make all society descend to the level of the wage earner.

This is about all I can say. It is the result of many and wide experiences on two sides of the Atlantic. I am sick of panaceas. I want women to plough deeply and get rid not of the symptoms but of the hidden roots of social disease.

* * *

**Mary Austin**

IT IS too early to say what women should do with their newly acquired political power. A period of experimentation must necessarily ensue during which they may do anything which will give them the requisite political experience. There are a few precautionary measures which they might take to ensure them against unnecessary handicap when they do make up their minds, as I am afraid must happen before real political effectiveness is secured, to move concertedly as women.

They ought to avoid making any political affiliations which it will embarrass them to dissolve.

They ought not to "play politics" for the sake of any future political plums. Plums don't grow on thistles today

any more than figs did when that proverb was a piece of the day's news.

They should never forget that the people who ultimately decide our national policies are the people who are most interested in deciding them. This is just as true when the interests are altruistic as when they are selfish. Women are not going to make any political gains that they do not care as much about as they have cared about winning the political privilege.

Women should never make the mistake of taking men's political promises too seriously. Politics today is not organized around political situations, but around men's reactions to situations. Party line-ups are much more likely to represent temperamental bias than political principles. This is the source of most of our political inefficiency; but only a good-humored, philosophical recognition of the fact will make any headway against it.

Above everything women should avoid any immediate alignment of political interest which will perpetuate or foresee sex antagonism. If it ever becomes necessary for women to pull out on their own initiative it must be because they have seen so clear a light on the political horizon that the difference between men's and women's view of it can be stated in terms not of sex distinctions but in the length of spiritual vision.

* * *

**Ida Clyde Clarke**

WITH the winning of the ballot American women find themselves possessed of a new power. The ballot is an instrument—a means to an end. To what end, then, shall we use this instrument? That is to be the eternal question from this time on. THE SUFFRAGIST can render no greater service at this time than to stir American women to a deeper realization of the responsibility of the ballot.

In my view the whole future of America depends on the breadth of our intelligence and the depth of our feeling concerning two questions—economics and health. Master masculine minds are struggling with the problems of economics.

But health—moral, mental, physical—that is a job we women have got to do. Now that we have a direct influence I believe it is our first duty to use it persistently and directly to straighten the eyes of men legislators and men program-makers who traditionally look two ways at once on the question of sexual ethics. For, when we get at the root of this problem, we are reaching the fundamentals of half of the social problems upon which we are now spending millions of dollars and much time and thought.

The new programs offered by the United States Public Health Service and the Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board mark a great advance in the rational treatment of this question and propose an excellent educational campaign. But they still base their practical recommendations upon tradition rather than upon reason. The American people learned almost overnight, early in the war, that to tolerate prostitution meant to tolerate the venereal disease. Then they began to realize that continence for men is at least thinkable. Our efforts should not be to make man's world safe for vice. Men have been known to construe the word "persons" as meaning only males. Now, it is the other way round. It is true that the arrest, examination and lock hospital treatment of "persons" suspected of having a venereal disease is advocated, but the officers of the United States Public Health Service themselves admit that this recommendation is intended to apply chiefly to women!

Let us begin here to use our new power constructively, directly and seriously. If this one thing could be straightened out, there would be less necessity for "drives" for money to care for the blind and the sick and the afflicted. Let us vote for the men who are seeing straight and for the measures that will make for a cleaner America—cleaner morally, mentally and physically.

* * *

**From Officers of the Woman's Party**

Mrs. Lillian Ascough, Detroit, Michigan, member Advisory Council from Michigan:

> "As to the future of the Woman's Party, it must continue. It would be a crime for an organization of such tremendous force and with a leader like Miss Paul, to disband. I personally favor the formation of a woman's political party. There is no place for women in either of the old parties and my experience has proven to me that there is no place for a third party of liberal-minded men and women at the present time, so it is up to us to go ahead and get for ourselves the things we want."

Miss Lavinia Dock, of Fayetteville, member of advisory council from Pennsylvania:

> "I do not feel drawn to a political party of women only for special women's interests. I intend going back to the Women's Trade Union League, to which I used to belong. The industrial revolution or evolution seems to me the important basic thing and I am now anxious to begin being able to make little contributions there. If the National Woman's Party continued as a sharp-edged wedge to work for the removal of all the civil and legal disabilities of women, I would adhere to it" for that purpose.

Miss Mary Burnham, of Philadelphia, member of advisory council, from Pennsylvania:

> "As to the continuance of the National Woman's Party—certainly until all chance of legal quibble is passed. Then I should like to see the able, intelligent trained women of your force take their places in the already organized political and social groups. Then these trained workers and thinkers would soon become leaders; more useful it seems to me than within the boundaries of the Party."

Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, Virginia state chairman:

> "We now have the vote and to be able to use it with the greatest success, I feel that we should not think of disbanding, but use our organization to work by political methods to eliminate discriminations against women."

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, New Jersey state chairman:

> "I am opposed to continuing as a woman's political party, and I doubt very much whether a group of women of such varied types and divergent interests could be held together on any other fight than the one you have so gloriously won."

# The Kitchen Complex

**By Mary Austin**

*Drawings by Nina E. Allender*

IT IS not until you have occasion to comment on the weaknesses of your friends without at the same time causing them to lose their tempers, that you fully appreciate the contribution of psychoanalysis to modern thinking. You can always say they have complexes which are always supposed to have happened to you in your extreme youth, and somebody else is to blame for them.

The confirmed feminist is particularly obliged to the Freudians when she celebrates in the most recent of her discoveries, the discovery of men. Man she has always known, and mankind. But the aggregate of what in moments of friendly speculation are referred to as "the men" have proved the source of considerable surprise. Most surprising is what they don't seem to be able to learn about "the women."

Pricked upon the plane of his attention by his special interest in her, man may learn to know a woman, several of them in succession. But of women in general he has only a composite cradle-cookstove impression, for which his standard of propriety seems to be whatever he accepted as proper in his mother. That was what was the matter with Saint Paul when he bound the women of Christendom to the tribe of milliners forever, by insisting that they keep their heads covered in the churches. In Tarsus, where Paul was brought up, all respectable ladies covered their heads to distinguish them from slaves who carried burdens on theirs, or the gay ladies who unveiled for purposes of advertisement.

So when the question came up, Paul, prouder of being a Roman citizen than he was of being a Jew, with the right to go around in a ribbon or a laurel wreath in place of four and a half yards of muslin turban, decided that the men could suit themselves, but that the women should do as he thought proper. In other words, St. Paul had a mother-complex. Happening to a Biblical character like that makes a complex the sort of thing that could happen with propriety to almost anybody.

Fortunately most of our clothes complexes have worn themselves out, possibly because of their connection with the trades and manufacture. It is true that having elected a practically unchanging mode for themselves, the men are in a state of nearly continuous alarm lest woman's dress in its periodic modifications should change beyond the power of men's modesty to endure it. All of which indicates that men have some vague notion of propriety in connection with clothes continuing to be what they were when any particular man first took cognizance of the proprieties. It would be a bold man who would insist on his own women dressing like their mothers, or be pleased at it. But every American born west of Ellis Island has a kitchen-complex.

This is what comes of democracy where domestic service is looked upon coldly and real ladies may be found doing their own cooking, instead of buying it at a delicatessen as our foreign-born population has done its best to teach us to do.

### The Made-in-America Complex

That the complex is of native American growth is evident. No European has it. The Englishman of class is not accustomed to think of the kitchen as a place where it is inevitable or even suitable for his wife to be. It is a dark region below-stairs, the habitat of persons of indeterminate features and marked idiosyncracies known as "cook," with an occasional second maid or "tweeny." When there is no cook there automatically ceases to be any kitchen in the English household. Under such circumstances the tribe establishes itself in lodgings where meals are "sent up" or clothing itself in the stolidity of the British dining countenance, dines "out."

The Latin peoples care very little how the meal is got together so long as there is a sup of wine to wash it down with, and they are notoriously fond of eating in company. Perhaps the German comes nearer to our American prejudice; only in his case it is a cooking complex. The kitchen is delectable by association. The Teuton desires kitchens in order that there may be food, a great deal of food and often. The apron around his wife's ample waist is the symbol of his prepossession, the sign that food is about to be assembled or concocted. But the American insists on kitchens in his homes in order that there may be kitchens.

The American husband is not overwhelmingly interested in the preparation of food, and is likely to reproach his wife for being seen in an apron outside of the hours prescribed for the vague but necessary business known as tidying up. He will eat uncomplainingly out of tin cans and pasteboard cartons, or partake with gusto of tea-room cake and

women's-exchange pies, provided only that they halt on their way to his table long enough to be laid up before his particular kitchen gods.

### The Sacred Cookstove

That the complex is in full working order, in spite of suffrage and free views on birth control, we had ample evidence during the war. The initial impulse of the women, if anybody had cared to discover it, which no man ever did, was toward simplification by centralization. Instinctively they moved toward community canning, community baking, community kitchening on the grand scale to release energy for other war exigencies. Gently but firmly they were remanded to the precinct of the sacred cookstove and the multiplication of ancient rites. Floods of recipes swept over us, we were bombarded with food substitutes and barricaded behind directions for making an eighty-five-cent soupbone do the work of a dollar and a quarter roast by the aid of ten cents worth of vegetables and an hour and forty minutes of time. Skilled workers in canvas mills and khaki were spared from their operations to fry the daily liver and stir the matutinal pancake. For what were a few more cases of pneumonia at the camps, compared to the preservation of the ancient order of the frying pan? There was even a garment provided for the consummation of kitchen rites, and to cheer us we were shown in the man-managed women's magazines how the uniform looked on a woman who kept a French chef and ten servants, or on a popular actress who resided in suite three hundred and seven at the Belchazzar apartment hotel.

Our military army took the field with the quintessential cooking equipment, but our army of munitions and furnishings fairly clanked with the impedimenta of the cult of the private kitchen. We could not move 500 men from cartridges to ships without at the same time moving 500 potato mashers, doubleboilers, skillets, 500 washboards, 500 carving knives, kettle cleaners and mops.

But it is when we survey the field of food production that we observe the kitchen complex in its most Freudian idiosyncracies. For it is never a question of how many acres of corn, how many bushels of wheat a farmer can raise, but how many harvest hands his wife can cook for, how many loaves and pies she can bake. There are no statistics as to how many farmers' wives have been sacrificed around the inviolable stove, but there is a noticeable disposition on the part of every farmer nowadays to see to it that it isn't his wife. It is easier in the long run to cook for a few hands and let the ultimate consumer pay the difference.

### Under Pressure of Servant Scarcity

In that region which is outside the operation of the complex, the movement has long been toward centralization. First, the smoke house was centralized into the packing house, then the preserving kettle went, and the oven. Under pressure of servant scarcity, the kitchen has given way in cities to the kitchenette, or to that laboratory-like, electrically-equipped closet which enables the professional woman to kitch in her dining room. Economists in the industrial centers have for some time been whispering that it has come to be a choice between the kitchen and the nursery. For the baby is the one product which is always indisputably better for being hand grown. When one considers the amount of glass and nickle and white porcelain that are necessary to keep the modern baby in prime condition it is evident that something must be spared from the kitchen altar.

What one would like to know is whether the prevalence of men editors for women's magazines is a result of the complex or one of its contributing factors.

Not long ago one of the most prosperous of these institutions for placing compelling descriptions of automobiles and comestibles next to what is popularly known as "reading matter" announced that it had arrived at the point of being able to charge more than anybody for such juxtapositions by assuming that American women are "progressive." This was followed by explosions in the advertising office. The advertising manager knew that advertisers, as a class, are victims of the kitchen complex. They belonged to that

group whose stigmata—I think stigmata is the word—it is to assume that the slightest remission of kitchen rites threatens the complete overthrow of all house and home-keeping instincts. As a matter of fact it is the "progressive" woman who is interested in nickleplated sanitation and buys her mince meat in glass jars. It is also a fact that that one of the women's magazines whose name appears oftenest as credited with "Best Short Stories of the Year" charges the highest price per page for its advertisements.

### The Way of the Kilkenny Cats

But the advertising manager was right. You cannot call a woman progressive to the average business man of the kind able to pay for space in a two-and-half-million-circulation magazine, without doing violence to the picture in his mind formed forty years back when existence centered around his mother's stove. And if said advertiser really understood the implications of the "reading matter" next to which his cereal products are displayed, he would fall in a fit.

The situation, however, is not without compensation. By improving the quality of their fiction and general articles the women's magazines will add to their circulation, which will increase the advertising, which will be added to the cost of Full-Page Flour and Colored Insert Breakfast-food until they become prohibitive, and the private kitchen and the kitchen complex, like the Kilkenny cats, will have eaten each other up.

# Women and Sources of Industrial Power

**By Marie L. Obenauer**

HOW are women going to realize on the investment of more than half a century's labor in securing the vote? How are they going to convert the liberty bond of the ballot into the cash of equal control of the sources of the nation's wealth and equal opportunity to shape the resources of its civil powers to the requirements of a responsible citizenship nearly doubled by the Nineteenth Amendment? How is the business or professional woman going to convert her enfranchisement into freer access to the training facilities essential to a larger use of her capabilities in industry, commerce and finance? Can she, in fact, use her newly acquired, unrestricted vote to transfer the distribution of opportunities for capable service from the control of a sex oligarchy to that of a democracy of ability?

The war quickened the demand for women trained in business, professions and applied science; it permitted the trained woman to share more liberally in the responsibilities of technique and skill-exacting positions, and revealed to her and to the public an unmeasured margin of unused capabilities within the nation. The straining demands of the emergency also opened the door of creative activity to a woman here and there. But with the urge of the war removed, and the brakes of tradition still dragging at the wheels of woman's progress, only a purposeful and clearly directed initiative on the part of the business and professional women supplemented by effective team work on the part of women in politics will win a more equitable and permanent share in the responsible work of industry, commerce and finance. For example: The war revealed industry's dependence upon allied science and objective research to standardize the processes of manufacture and to increase the facilities of commerce. Evidence of this lies in the extensive looting of colleges and universities for expert reasearchers. There is ample proof that it is to the scientific departments of public and private institutions that industry and commerce are still looking to recruit the ranks of their responsible forces. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has signed with hundreds of firms contracts to perform practical industrial research. The avowed purpose of the contracts is "to maintain a steady stream of trained men constantly flowing into industry"—to quote verbatim from Dr. William H. Walker, head of the Industrial Division of the institute.

### Industrial Research Fellowships

Dr. Vernon Kellogg, the directing head of the National Research Council, early in the year said in a formal address that there had been "established, in some seventy-six of the colleges and universities of the country during the war, so-called research committees." While a number of these research committees were disbanded, the Council has set about rehabilitating them. In addition it has "established a number of so-called state research committees, men connected with state boards or councils of applied sciences."

The National Research Council was given $500,000 by the Rockefeller Foundation to be distributed in industrial research fellowships, and the big industries of the country are investing millions in scholarships and fellowships, not because of benign interest in education, but because of a practical interest in protecting and increasing the supply of trained and professional service. None of these fellowships has so far been given to a woman.

But industry is not waiting until graduation day for help from the colleges and universities. In the closer relationship growing out of the war, it is giving inspiration, direction and motive to much of the research work in educational institutions by submitting specific problems of commercial manufacture for undergraduate and graduate study.

In view of this situation, it requires no strain of the mental faculties to see that the students who work out solutions of problems vexing a manufacturing concern will have more than an equal chance with other candidates for permanent and profitable employment. Furthermore, the more difficult are the problems solved by the graduate or undergraduate, the less will the firm care whether the successful researcher is a man or a woman.

But while this cooperation has been established with co-educational institutions, it has not in reality made women's access any easier to the training facilities because the effort to draft promising abilities for such research work is directed toward the men. Women are not debarred usually, but they are not encouraged as are the men, and custom carries them along well-worn and undisputed paths of learning. With but two or three inconspicuous exceptions, no firms have called upon or spent money in women's colleges for any of this research work. A count of the number of women holding large blocks of stock in industrial and commercial concerns making such investment would reveal a material source of influence if effectively used in the interest of larger opportunities for capable women. Furthermore, there are many women of ample means who give liberally to educational institutions for the endowment of professorships. Their gifts and their influence taken altogether will bulk large in the new order that is building on the results of the war.

Business and professional women doubtless see in these facts an opportunity to force a permanent breach in the wall of apathy and opposition that now shuts them out of the creative and controlling forces of industry and commerce.

But how can possession of the unrestricted vote help the business and professional woman in this effort to break through walls of custom into open fields of opportunity? She can use it to see not only that the enactment but that the administration of laws pending and projected for promoting industry and commerce shall open in fact as well as in name the doors of opportunity for capable service to capable women.

One item in a long and convincing bill of particulars: There is pending before the Agricultural Committee a bill designed to develop the fertilizer industry, and free us from dependence upon foreign nations for essential soil foods which in the case of nitrates is also an indispensable ingredient of explosive powders. A feature of this bill is the maintenance of a great research laboratory "and such other laboratories and experimental plants as may be deemed necessary or advisable to assist it (the corporation created under the bill) in furnishing the United States Government and others at all times nitrogen products for military or other purposes in the most economical manner and with the highest standard of efficiency." Urging the passage of this bill, Senator Gronna said: "It is not only necessary to manufacture nitrogen, but I think the government needs as much as anything a great laboratory. . . . We ought to have in the country today 500 or 1,000 experts working on these problems."

Here is a place into which the full ballot fits nicely, if the business and professional women and the women in politics are good joiners. The bill, which is still before the Agricultural Committee, creates a corporation whose directors are appointed by the President, whose stock is owned by the Government, but whose business, including the conduct of the research laboratory and all other research facilities, is under the exclusive control of the board of directors.

There are good reasons why the business should be removed thus from the regulations of ordinary government departments. The researchers will be in constant competition with the great laboratories of private concerns, and in constant need of meeting the requirements of quantity as well as quality production. But women's money will go to the support of this creative research laboratory; women's votes will count in the policy underlying the conduct of the business, the search for researchers, the application of research results. Their voice should be heard and their vote should count in the council controlling these opportunities for creative service. It is not too late for women to win a place by election to Congress on the powerful committees that are shaping this and other bills which serve as well to illustrate the connection between enfranchisement and enlargement of women's opportunities. Of course, in winning a place on such committees, women will share in decisions as vital to the women as to the men of the nation. In the case of this particular bill, for example, they will share the responsibility of choosing between the danger of the Government's competition to private industry, and the danger of continued dependence upon foreign nations for indispensable soil foods and powder ingredients. They will determine the Government's obligation to continue or discontinue the use in its manufacturing operations of the patents leased to it during the war by a company whose own plants are in Canada and who itself leases its patent rights for America from an Italian company. They will decide with men whether in place of these foreignly entangled patents it were practicable to harness enough of the water power, now idling in streams to the sea, to rip the needed nitrates from the air whence the lightning has ripped them for ages and flung them as food to the soil at the capricious dictates of the weather. They would decide whether Germany's recent offer to us of 50,000 tons of nitrate snatched from the air in excess of her own needs is any challenge to our resourcefulness. They would decide with men whether the recognized availability of woman labor in the manufacturing of nitrates under one process should have any weight in choosing a process, in view of the fact that in case of war the plants must make more soil food to increase crop yields as an offset to shortage of male labor; must in addition make nitrates in huge volume for powders; and likewise stand the necessary drafts upon its men workers for military service.

The women with the men would decide whether the great laboratory project for research bearing upon the development of nitrates for soil and shell foods should not also be equipped for research bearing on the development of other industries as intimately related to the welfare of men and women, of the home and the nation.

But those are items of a gripping bill of particulars which could be made for Professor Ellen Hayes' ringing charge, "Home in this century takes hold of the ends of the earth." That, however, is another story.

# Feminism in Foreign Countries

## The English Woman Movement

By Katharine Anthony

*This is the first of a series of four articles by Miss Anthony on European feminism. The other three will deal with the Scandinavian countries, middle Europe and France.*

THERE is no little irony in the circumstance that the two most famous portraits of Mary Wollstonecraft are enshrined today, the one on the walls of the National Gallery in London and the other on the walls of a Fifth Avenue mansion. If poor Mary could have foreseen these honors to be one day paid to Opie's portraits of the "hyena in petticoats," she might have smiled to herself at one of the profound inconsistencies of human nature. For Mary was not accustomed to receiving tributes from national institutions or the wealthy classes in her day. Governments shuddered at her name and proper women trembled at the thought that they shared the same sex with her. All of which merely means to those who have reflected somewhat on the progress of human liberty that Mary Wollstonecraft played a brave part in the movement in her day. An ardent defender of the rights of man as well as the passionate advocate of the rights of women, she is not adequately described by the term *feminist;* yet her feminism was the unique part of her. For that she was infamous in her day, and famous in ours.

With her publication of the "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," she became the founder of the woman movement in England. However, her claims for her sex were not excessive. "It is then an affection for the whole human race that makes my pen dart rapidly along to support what I believe to be the cause of virtue; and the same motive leads me earnestly to wish to see woman placed in a station in which she would advance, instead of retarding, the progress of the glorious principles that give a substance to morality." Sentiments like this, which are characteristic of the volume, one might expect the whole parish to applaud. But since it was unseemly and indecorous for a lady to write at all, this easy familiarity with pen and ink was alone sufficient to condemn her with the public; while to assume, as she did, that "if the abstract rights of man will bear discussion and explanation, those of woman, by a parity of reasoning, will not shrink from the same test," was to cap indiscretion with sedition. No wonder she was regarded as a revolutionist.

Still, Mary Wollstonecraft was not without her forerunners in England. Her chief disadvantage was that she was separated from the worthiest of them by a long sequence of centuries. We need to go back to the era when England was Christianized to find women of her strength and independence and careers as notable as hers. They are among the Anglo-Saxon Abbesses whose personalities and achievements have left their mark on English history. The early Church gave them scope as educators, administrators, and leaders; they founded abbeys and ruled over them, even including co-educational abbeys; they enjoyed equal rights with men to become saints. The names of St. Hilda, St. Elflaed, and the Abbesses of Ely have helped to make England great; yet there are people in England nowadays who fear that it will impair the dignity of the Church if Miss Maude Royden and Miss Edith Picton-Turberville are permitted to preach from its pulpits. Indeed, there is nothing like a real knowledge of history to allay the popular fear of feminism and the so-called new woman.

After the death of Mary Wollstonecraft, more than fifty years passed before an organized woman movement first appeared in England. In the meantime, the protest of the intellectual woman against the futilities of her lot and the position of women in general had been expressed by Charlotte Bronte and Elizabeth Barrett. The daughter of a parson and the daughter of a gentleman could now write and publish without losing caste as ladies. The world *had* moved in fifty years but with no very great momentum. What was the status of the lady, especially the spinster, worth? "Look at the numerous families of girls in this neighborhood," writes Charlotte Bronte, picturing in *Shirley* the distress of the class to which she belonged. "The

### The Feminist Movement in England

**"The suffrage movement in England has been but one phase of a many-sided woman movement—a movement which has preserved its content without sacrificing its dynamics. Various groups have come together for purposes of research, co-operation, trade-unionism, and they have exerted a strong educational influence. The women voters are not just dressed up, with no where to go—except into the ranks of partisan politics. Organizations like the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Fabian Women's Group, and volunteer committees such as the one which has recently published a report on the Endowment of Motherhood, have made valuable contributions on the specifically feminist problems. The woman movement in England has its technicians and experts; it has research groups and experimentation groups; and as a result of these internal aids it is likely to go ahead in the performance of its logical tasks rather than to lose time in the fatuous following of political machines.**

**"Whatever may be the special issue which the women voters immediately take up, this much is certain; it will be a measure which tends to improve the economics and the status of motherhood. And, thanks to the habit of research which English women have acquired, it will not be a blundering effort."**

brothers of these girls are every one in business or in professions. They have something to do. Their sisters have no earthly employment but household work and sewing; no earthly pleasure but an unprofitable visiting; and no hope in all their life to come of anything better. This stagnant state of things makes them decline in health. They are never well, and their minds and views shrink to wondrous narrowness. The great wish, the sole aim, of every one of them is to be married. But the majority will never marry: they will die as they now live . . . the matrimonial market is overstocked. Fathers say so likewise, . . . they order them to stay at home. What do they expect them to do at home? If you ask, they would answer, sew and cook. They expect them to do this, and this only, contentedly, regularly, uncomplainingly, all their lives long, as if they had no germs of faculties for anything else."

In this form, the woman question first shaped itself in England. When the spinsters found out at last that they were "superfluous women" for whom England literally contained no husbands and not merely the most unattractive of their sex, they decided that at least some other career than marriage should be offered or permitted them by a reasonable society. The old maid lost her shame, and this had, among other things, a good effect upon her health. She pursued an education, and succeeded in spite of obstacles in obtaining it. She struggled to enter the professions and just when she had succeeded in pushing open a few doors here and there, she was thrown into confusion and distress by a new aspect of the woman movement. The exploitation of the working-women in factories had in the meantime developed a state of affairs which demanded legislative relief. There was an apparent conflict between the need of the educated woman to work and the need of the factory woman to be protected from the unbridled exploitation which marked the beginning of the industrial revolution. From this time on, the adjustment of these two issues has been the unremitting task of the woman movement. In theory, there is no conflict; in practice, there often seems to be. There is no rule of thumb by which women may work it out; except one, and that is that they must do it for themselves, realizing that the interests of the child-bearing sex cannot be blindly entrusted to the arrangements of the capitalist system or even to the humane custody of the labor movement.

As in the nineteenth century, so in the twentieth still, the situation of the superfluous women constitutes a primary issue of English feminism. They came into existence as the logical consequence of empire-building; yet an all-wise Government composed exclusively of men pursued its policy of colonial expansion without ever once giving a thought to the ultimate effect on the lives of the island women. Even before the World War broke, there were more than a million women in England for whom the possibility of marriage was excluded, and we are still waiting for the census to reveal the extent to which their numbers have been augmented by the death-lists of recent years. The problem is not eliminated by the extraordinary changes which spell new freedom for the "single" woman, or by the numerous and varied outlets into human activity of which Elizabeth Barrett Browning little dreamed when she wrote:

"How dreary 'tis for women to sit still
On winter nights, by solitary fires,
And hear the nations praising them far off."

Economic independence and the vote are not the final goals of the feminist movement, though they have come to be the indispensable means to more vital ends. Women, along with men, are striving for the good life; but for women, even more than for men, the good life is not the typically childless one. The conditions which defeat and hamper motherhood in England are engaging the attention and the energies of the English women today more than they have ever done before; and until a proper valuation is put upon this service to the State, we may expect to find the problems of motherhood prominent in the program of the English movement.

The first traces of collectiveness and organization among women appeared about 1867. The incipient movement revolved about two foci, which simultaneously made their appearance as "causes." The one was the right of wives to hold property and the other was the right of women to the vote. It would almost seem that both demands were equally just, but Parliament was able to discriminate. It passed the Married Woman's Property Act in 1870 and postponed the Franchise Bill for another half century. One is sometimes moved to speculate why the claim of the married woman to control her own wages, her own savings bank deposits, and her own personal and landed property should have been granted with such comparative speed by legislative action. Voices were not lacking to condemn the step as hasty: a wife with a bank account was unthinkable, it would break up the family, and so forth. In reality it was the fathers of England who passed the bill on behalf of their daughters, whose inheritance they wished to protect against "dissolute sons-in-law." Could there have been so many of the latter? Or did the natural jealousy which fathers feel for sons-in-law supply an emotional stimulus for a social reform? We have been accustomed to consider that the emotions play no part in these public matters, but nowadays we are beginning to learn that men as well as women are chiefly guided by their emotions in public and in private life. At any rate, the men were divided among themselves on the subject of the married woman's property, and the women reaped the benefit, it must be admitted, through little effort of their own.

But not so in the case of suffrage. Here women gained their first experience in self-help and collective action. The suffrage movement began when the Reform Bill of 1867 gave the franchise to working-men but left out the working-women; it gained fresh headway when another Reform Bill in 1885 gave the vote to farmers and farm laborers but left out the farm women; and it waxed still stronger when the so-called universal suffrage act of 1894 doled out the municipal vote for women but withheld the Parliamentary or national franchise. People are sometimes heard to deplore the fact that the prolongation of the suffrage movement has awakened so much class-consciousness among women. But obviously a government cannot proceed, as the English Government did on these several occasions, to exclude thus arbitrarily, with each successive extension of democracy, a whole group of citizens on grounds of sex alone without

awakening within that group a certain feeling of sex-solidarity.

This policy of exclusion continued on into the twentieth century apparently counting on the inexhaustible patience of women. The transcendent intellect of John Stuart Mill had hardly made a breach in the complacency of Parliament; the ladylike methods and the maternal suasions of forty years had profited the suffragists nothing; it began to look as if the English suffrage movement would go on forever. Then militancy was invented and the injection of this factor into the situation made the prospect of an endless suffrage movement not so pleasant to a harassed Government. Having found an excellent excuse in the fact that women did men's work during the war, it decided under cover of the conflict to give women the vote.

We look across at them now with keen expectancy and query, what will they do with it? The situation in England is different from our own. The suffrage movement there has been but one phase of a many-sided woman movement—a movement which has preserved its content without sacrificing its dynamics. Various groups have come together for purposes of research, cooperation, trade-unionism, and they have exerted a strong educational influence. The women voters are not just dressed up, with no where to go—except into the ranks of partisan politics. Organizations like the Women's Cooperative Guild, the Fabian Women's Group, and volunteer committees such as the one which has recently published a report on the Endowment of Motherhood have made valuable contributions on the specifically feminist problems. The woman movement in England has its technicians and experts; it has research groups and experimentation groups; and as a result of these internal aids it is likely to go ahead in the performance of its logical tasks rather than to lose time in the fatuous following of political machines.

Whatever may be the special issue which the women voters immediately take up, this much is certain: it will be a measure which tends to improve the economics and the status of motherhood. And, thanks to the habit of research which English women have acquired, it will not be a blundering effort.

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# Women in the West Indies

**By Maria Moravsky**

I HAVE seen the women of Martinique, beautiful Creoles, whose ancestors were French counts and Indian cannibals, the coal carriers of Saint Lucia—black giantesses, homely, powerful, probably the most independent of all West Indian women. I have met the bored wives and daughters of Americans in your West Indian possessions. The English gentlewomen of Barbados, some surrounded by innumerable servants of all colors and races, some making crochet for a living. Women of different races, colors and religions, with nothing in common but their dependence on men. West Indians are ruled by men and for men. Their opinion about women runs close to that of Captain Innocentio:

"All women are alike, only some of them are fat."

Unfortunately there are no race prejudices in the West Indies. I say "unfortunately," because if the white men had more racial discrimination, they would not seduce colored women, would not live with them for years and then leave them with several children to be the prey of poverty and disgrace.

My maid in Barbados, a little sweet-voiced woman, aged by unceasing work and unquenched sorrow, complained to me gently:

"We lived together for twelve years. He was a white man—you may see it by my children. Now he lives in New York, with another wife. I see him every night in my dream. I think, nothing good will ever happen in my life . . . work, work and work. My older girl cannot go to school, because she has no shoes. I receive in the hotel only five Canadian dollars a month."

She was not an exception. I have never seen so many half-castes as in the West Indies. They are of all colors, from sickly yellow to pure white. Some mulattos have blue eyes and flaxen hair—only the experienced eye of a West Indian can distinguish them from whites. There are half-breeds descending from Englishmen and Negroes, from Frenchmen and Carib Indians, from Negroes and Irishmen, in which case they often have red hair combined with a coal black complexion.

The half-castes are mostly illegitimate children. The "generous" law of Barbados provides that a mother has the right to demand from the alleged father two shillings a week to support her child. Two shillings amounts to 48 cents. A pint of milk in Bridgetown, the capital of Barbados, costs eight cents. An egg four cents. Use your imagination. How easy it is to raise a child on such a budget.

The low cost of living in the West Indies, so widely advertised by the profiteering steamship companies, is greatly exaggerated. It is true that on such orchard-like islands as Saint Kitts, Guadeloupe, and especially that garden of paradise—Dominica—the enormous crops of fruits lower the living expenses. But one cannot feed children on bananas, pine-apples, mangoes and sapsadillas. Such a diet would hurt even the 'plebeian" stomachs of half-caste babies.

The starving women turn to prostitution. The sex-slavery flourishes in the West Indies as it used to flourish in San Francisco in the "good old times" of gold and drunkenness. In Cuba, the heaven of the American Tired Business Man, girls are being brought up with the only idea in their minds—to marry a rich man or to sell themselves.

If the women of the West Indies participated in governing the islands, such a state of affairs would not last long. Women would defend womanhood, save illegitimate children, stop white-slave traffic and enforce prohibition. They would prohibit child labor and shelter the women workers from demoralization.

The conservative conception of life in Anglo-Saxon possessions prevents many white women from occupying themselves in useful work. Even now an English girl in Barbados has to struggle with her parents, if she wants to become a stenographer. A dozen years ago it was pronounced a shame for a white lady to be active in any business.

There is a Woman's Self Help Association in Antigua and a similar one in Barbados (English Islands), but the members of these organizations occupy their time mostly by reading sentimental "colonial" novels, eating ice cream, selling their old jewelry and making crochet—in order to help their families. Hand-craft—sewing babies' caps, making embroidery and laces—is considered less humiliating by the old-fashioned Barbadian gentlewomen than salesmanship or clerical work.

After the war, germs of new ideas were brought to the islands by the young returning soldiers. Their sisters grasped at it. I have met many girls, 15 and even 14 years of age, who would criticize in dead earnest "conservatism of our islanders." They want to learn something besides handicraft. They strive to go to the college (there is one in Barbados) and refuse to marry right after their seventeenth birthday.

I have never heard of a suffrage movement there, yet there might well be one started among the white women in American possessions. They would gladly participate in any decent movement, because they are bored to death. I remember a lady in Saint Croix who was seriously convinced that she would grow insane if she stays one year more in "this accursed paradise." To do nothing is not an easy occupation for an American woman.

I think it natural that American women in the West Indies should be the leaders of other islanders. They must start there the suffrage movement, because the country needs it badly. Both men and women of the West Indies will profit by it.

Now, after the great battle is won, there remain millions of books, pamphlets and copies of suffrage magazines—things of the past for the United States. Send them to the West Indies! People there are dying for reading matter; they would be grateful even for old Sunday papers—especially in the new American possessions—Saint Thomas, Saint Croix and Saint John.

It is sad truth that these American islands are much worse off than the French and English ones. The only traces of civilization I perceived in the largest one—Saint Thomas—are the jozz vand, soda fountain and ice factory. I saw natives in Saint Croix begging not only for food but for water.

The few private wells that exist on the island are usually carefully locked. Can you imagine what will happen there in the case of an epidemic? Do you wonder why the natives are dirty? Why children are anemic? Water, the first necessity of life, under lock and key! Let American women carry the teachings of mental and bodily cleanliness to the half-barbarous places where flutters the American flag.

If the women of America advocated self-government for at least such large islands as Porto Rico, which possesses an old, although one-sided "men's" civilization, they would gain support for equal suffrage, not only from the women but from West Indian men also. Their gratitude for defending national freedom may overweigh their prejudice against the equal rights for women.

# International Council of Women Meets

THE importance of the League of Nations as it affects the international status of women was one of the chief subjects of discussion at the quinquennial meeting of the International Council of Women just concluded in Christiania, Norway.

Three hundred and fifty delegates, representing twenty nations, attended the congress. Membership was broadened to include Rumania, Cuba, Spain, and Czecho-Slovakia, while Uruguay, Ukraine, Russia, Ireland, and Mexico sent representatives to attend the sessions. The German women decided not to attend this year and Mlle. van Elgen of France was appointed secretary of the Council in place of Dr. Alice Salmon of Germany, who had been nominated by several national councils.

The Council adopted the resolution proposed by the American delegation: endorsement of the principles of the League. A sense of the incompleteness of the membership of the League was expressed, however, in a second resolution presented by France and England. The proposal, which carried by acclamation, expressed satisfaction that the League had been made an integral part of the Peace Treaty, but urged, in the interest of a settlement of economic difficulties and of international justice, that all fully autonomous states should be included in the League as soon as possible.

The growing international protest against laws which deprive women of their citizenship because of their marriage to aliens was voiced in another resolution, adopted after considerable discussion at two sessions:

It was decided to draw up proposals for an international agreement on this subject for presentation to the League of Nations.

Recommendation was made that a bureau of health be established in connection with the League.

The problem of illegitimacy was taken up and a resolution adopted advocating that the illegitimate child should have a right to its father's name and should receive financial support from him.

It was urged, in another resolution, that the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors be decided by referendum.

Other proposals discussed were along the lines of formation of an international committee of child welfare to work in conjunction with the League of nations; endowment of motherhood; appointment of women as juvenile court judges; the legal right of married women to a just proportion of their husbands' incomes; consideration of an international language; and censorship of motion-picture films.

The meeting, the sixth held by the International Council, was presided over by Lady Aberdeen of England, the president. Delegates from the United States included Mrs. Phillip North Moore, president of the National Council of Women of the United States; Mrs. Myra Kingman Miller, secretary of the American council; Mrs. D. W. Vandergrift of Washington, D. C., who represented the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and Miss Lydia Hendrickson of Washington, D. C., a member of the legal committee of the International Council.

# Woman Suffrage In Belgium

**By Edouard Traus**

THE movement in favor of the political emancipation of women has just taken an important step forward in Belgium. By a vote of 142 to 10, the Belgium Chamber of Deputies, adopting the resolutions of the technical commission, has recently recognized the eligibility of woman to vote. Moreover, in the session of July, by a vote of 163 to 4, with two absent, it adopted a resolution giving women the right to vote without necessitating a new revision of the constitution. On the other hand, a proposed measure that after November, 1928, a simple majority would suffice to give women the right to vote, was defeated by a vote of 97 to 72, with two absent. In other words, as soon as the Senate has ratified these two proposed laws, the Belgian woman, although not an elector, can be elected a deputy or senator.

At the time of the last legislative elections in 1919 the widows of soldiers who had died for their country were, it is true, allowed to vote, but this was merely an exception to the rule. The principle of woman suffrage is, however, recognized as being just, and all parties in Belgium are agreed on the necessity of granting women the vote. What divides them is only a question of opportunity.

Woman suffrage has for a long time been part of the program of the Socialist Party. But the Socialists, as well as the Liberal Party, believe that it is safer to proceed step by step and grant women at first merely the right to vote in the communal elections, extending it afterwards to the parliamentary elections. The Catholic Party, which at the last parliamentary election lost the majority which it has had in the Chamber for twenty years and now has a majority of only two votes in the Senate, demanded complete woman suffrage with such vehemence that a very grave parliamentary crisis was feared.

The Catholic group in the legislature, having decided to start a revision of the constitution, desired to force the hand of the other parties by declaring that it would only allow the inscription in the constitution of universal manhood suffrage if woman suffrage was inscribed under the same heading. If the Catholics had maintained their decision, the constituent Chamber, being unable without the assistance of the Catholic votes to obtain the majority of two-thirds necessary for a revision of the articles of the constitution, would have been dissolved, which would have brought about a new election. But at the last minute, withdrawing before the responsibility of bringing about a grave crisis, the Catholics gave in and the conflict was thus avoided.

The Liberals blame the Catholics for demanding woman suffrage for a purely political end, hoping to regain with the help of the women's vote the parliamentary majority which the last election made them lose. They say that as long as it was in power—that is, during the last twenty years—the Catholic Party did not concern itself with giving women the vote, and that today when it is no longer in power it wants to impose it on the other parties at the risk of a serious political crisis.

The Catholics take advantage of the fact that the petition gotten up by the Belgian Federation for Woman Suffrage obtained 219,000 signatures, but their adversaries reply that those signatures were obtained almost exclusively in Catholic centres after very active propaganda, and that one could not pretend that a really serious feminist movement exists in Belgium among women.

On this subject Madame Marguerite Van de Weile, President of the National Council of Belgian Women, says:

"The conservatives expect electoral support from the emancipated women while the liberal parties fear the opposite.

"Will the accession of women to all the prerogatives, dignities, and political rights really have in Belgium the importance which some people anticipate with joy, while others fear it? I do not know; I do not wish to know; it seems to me to be a question of secondary importance. What difference does it make if this entry of women into political life should at first have a rather reactionary effect? The country has wanted universal suffrage; we must bear the consequence in all its rigor."

Madame Jean Brigode, another suffragist and President of the Belgian Federation for Woman Suffrage, said recently:

"What is now going on in parliamentary centres where woman suffrage has entered into the living reality of politics shows the feminists that they were right in demanding political equality.

"The liberal adversaries of woman suffrage have the conviction, respectable because it is sincere, but, we believe, erroneous, that it is necessary to refuse woman all participation in political rights until she has recovered from all her inferiorities.

"In our society the ballot is the arm of the oppressed. It is precisely because she is socially and intellectually oppressed that woman should claim it."

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## Hawaiian Women Eager to Vote

FIVE HUNDRED newly-enfranchised women registered to vote at the autumn elections on August 30, the first day the books were opened in Honolu'u.

The first woman to register was Miss Johanna Papaikanian Wilcox, who is part Hawaiian, who swore to her affidavit before the county clerk at 12 minutes after midnight the morning of the first registration day. Miss Wilcox had presented herself at the county clerk's office when the press notice appeared announcing ratification by Tennessee.

After the thirty-sixth state was gained a campaign was carried on in Honolulu to get out the women voters. Ten thousand women are eligible to vote in Oahu, the island on which Honolulu is located.

## The Feminist Movement In Argentina

ARGENTINE women suffragists have become divided on the question of whether women shall run for office or whether the feminine vote, once it is obtained, shall be cast for the candidates of existing political parties. There seems to be no possibility of their differences being patched up before the meeting of the International Feminist Congress which is scheduled to meet here in November, and to which delegates are promised from the United States, France, Switzerland and Germany.

There are two feminist organizations in Argentina, both working for practically the same ends, but hopelessly opposed to each other as to the means of achieving those ends. The older organization is the Feminist Party, which was organized by Dr. Lanteri Renshaw to carry on a campaign in favor of the vote and representation for women, the goal being the election of women to the Chamber of Deputies and their appointment on the Municipal Council of Buenos Aires. Members of the Buenos Aires council are not elected, but are appointed by the President of the Republic, Buenos Aires being the federal capital.

Some time after this party had got Argentine women interested in the question of the vote, another suffragist party was organized under the name National Feminist Union. Dr. Alicia Moreau, the president of this union, recently visited the United States in the interest of the International Feminist Congress, which her organization is fostering.

The Feminist Union has pronounced socialistic tendencies, but is principally different from the Feminist Party in that it is opposed to women running for office and wants them to cast their votes for the candidates of political parties already existing.

Both organizations have now fixed their immediate attention on a campaign to get women into the Chamber of Deputies and into the municipal council as observers. These observers would be authorized to study and interpret proposed legislation and proposed ordinances from the woman's viewpoint and to confer with deputies and councilors regarding the framing of laws and ordinances for the betterment of the condition of women in this country. In other words, these observers would practically be an officially recognized woman's lobby.

During a recent political campaign the feminist leaders conducted a feminist election, designed to bring out the political preference of the women of Argentina. The ballots cast in this election showed that the women voters were in favor of suffragist votes being cast for the candidates of existing political parties rather than the organization of a woman's party with women candidates for office. This result is in line with the program of Dr. Moreau's organization and opposed to that of the Feminist Party, which persists in its program of running women for office.

The Feminist Union, under the leadership of Dr. Moreau, has passed the membership figures of the Feminist Party, and has gained still further by the outcome of the balloting already referred to. It is expected that this party will gain materially by acting as sponsor for the International Feminist Congress and, therefore, that the suffragist campaign in Argentina after the Congress has adjourned will be limited to obtaining for women the right to cast ballots for men candidates.—Foreign correspondence of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Sept. 14, 1920.

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## A Suffrage Note from Fiji

FIJI has never been agitated by the "woman's problem," yet even Fiji is not untouched by this great question.

It is a British Crown Colony and all the more important government officials are appointed from Downing Street, London. It was not until 1905 that any form of local representation in the government was allowed the people, then a property franchise was accorded men over 21 years of age and of British parents. Two representatives to the Legislative Council were to be elected and nearly every prominent man in the town was a candidate. It was extremely difficult for the ambitious amateur politicians to think of good and sufficient reasons why the lawyer, say, would be a better man in the council than the newspaper man or the bank manager. One of the candidates was the doctor who as it happened, was a devotee of Ibsen. He adopted a unique platform and tried his best to awaken a desire for suffrage "on the same basis" as that given men in the hearts of the women of Suva. But not a convert could the doctor get. The Governor's wife, herself, told him that he was "really very wicked to try to introduce vexatious questions into a beautiful peaceful island."

The doctor finally changed his plea, made his campaign and was elected on a segregation of lepers scheme! He was the last politician in Fiji to take up the battle for women's rights.

The native Fijian women join with their men-folk in fishing, gardening, house-building and canoe sailing. They are expert weavers of fans, mats and baskets. The men assist in all cooking and cleaning quite as much as the women do, but the women are not included in any sort of political conferences or groupings, except in a few cases where women of high rank are invited to give advice on special subjects.

**Jennie Scott Griffiths.**

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## Now That You've Got It

A vote! A vote!" the Da-da cried,
"It's something good to eat!"
A curtis watched and nearly died;
He hardinged with his feet.

A morgan and a ryan sate
Upon a golden tree
And chattered of the sales of Fate.
The He-ness of the She.

They watched her with a coxy grin;
She tasted of her hope:
'Twas made of cotton, ironed thin
And filled with procter soap.

**Stacy V. Jones.**

# A Pageant: The Victory Goal

**By Marie Moore Forrest**

*Pageant Director of the National Community Service and member National Advisory Council, National Woman's Party*

Many requests for a suggested celebration of our great victory have come to the Woman's Party. Mrs. Forrest who, with Miss Hazel MacKKaye, planned and executed the Susan B. Anthony pageant in 1915 and has herself since then staged several beautiful spectacles for the Community Service, has drawn up this simple and effective pageant available for either small or large communities.

Suggestions for proper incidental music, or further suggestions about costuming and directing, will be gladly given by Mrs. Forrest, who may be reached through Woman's Party Headquarters, 14 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

MUSIC by unseen chorus, Song of the Woman, to the tune of the Marsellaise.

Enter Columbia, with attendants, and personified departments of the Government.

Military March. Enter Constitution and 12 amendments.

Marsellaise heard in distance.

Enter one woman bearing in her hand a torch and starting toward Columbia, but arrested by the appearance in the center of personified Tradition, who orders attendants of Columbia to push her back, which they do, pushing her entirely off the stage, one attendant blowing out her torch.

Enter to music, Amendments 13, 14 and 15.

Marsellaise again heard a little nearer.

Enter small group of women, all bearing torches. They come a little nearer Columbia, but are again arrested by Tradition appearing this time accompanied by Ridicule. The attendants again push the woman off, using force.

Music changes to March and enter Amendments 16 and 17, who are accepted with graciousness by Columbia, and they join the Constitutional group.

Marsellaise again heard, and enter much larger group of women, all bearing torches. Again appears Tradition, accompanied by Ridicule, and this time by Political Intrigue. They all order the attendants to banish the woman (this is all done in pantomime), but the women will not yield—they stand their ground, though barred from approaching Columbia by attendants.

Enter Eighteenth Amendment with attendant of Temperance banner. Amendment is received and joins Constitutional group. Women still stand defiant and insistent, though still barred from reaching Columbia by attendants, aided by Tradition and Ridicule and Political Intrigue.

Enter the Nineteenth Amendment with a veil. The Nineteenth Amendment does not try to come immediately to the center, but stands away.

Enter procession of states in order of ratification. After the 36th state comes, State Department goes to Nineteenth Amendment and leads her to Columbia, who receives her graciously and conducts her to Constitution.

Music changes to March of the Women and great procession of women come bearing torches, until the stage is full and a big tableau is formed and the Song of the Woman is sung, and during the singing of the song large banner is unfurled with 36 stars on it.

### Directions for Production

*Persons in Pageant*

COLUMBIA—Part to be taken by beautiful, tall woman of mature age. Costume, white draperies, full and long. In her hand she carries a flag of the United States.

ATTENDANTS OF COLUMBIA—Six young men in tunics of red, white and blue, carrying the shield and spear.

STATE DEPARTMENT—Man in deep blue tunic and sandals, holding the great seal of the United States.

WAR DEPARTMENT—Man in red tunic and sandals, holding shield and spear.

NAVY DEPARTMENT—Man in dark blue tunic and sandals, with white girdle, holding anchor.

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT—Man in brown tunic and sandals, carrying ripe corn.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE—Man in purple tunic and sandals, carrying sword of justice.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR—Man in burlap tunic and sandals, carrying spade.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR—Man in deep gray tunic and sandals, carrying shrub or small tree.

POSTOFFICE DEPARTMENT—Man in gray trimmed with red, with mail bag.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT—Man in yellow tunic, carrying bag of gold.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—Man in white tunic with blue stars, carrying ship in full sail.

CONSTITUTION—Must be represented by large man with strong face, clear-cut features, wearing deep crimson tunic, carrying shield held to breast made in the form of the seal of the United States.

EIGHTEEN AMENDMENTS—Young men should be in shades of red and brown, darker and lighter than the Constitution, and each should carry a shield with the number on it of the amendment that he represents.

FIRST WOMAN—Soft gray draperies, very full and flowing, carrying golden torch.

SMALL GROUP OF WOMEN—In dresses still of gray, but bordering on the warmer shades of tan, all bearing golden torches.

THIRD GROUP OF WOMEN—Purple, white and yellow costumes.

NINETEENTH AMENDMENT—Personified by beautiful, slender young woman, in flowing draperies of white, with shield bearing Roman letters 19.

THIRTY-SIX STATES—Women in deep cream color, carrying the flags of the states.

TRADITION—Woman wearing draperies of old rose pink, bringing forth the idea of coming from the past.

RIDICULE—Woman in flowing gown in shades of green.

POLITICAL INTRIGUE—Man in tunic of nondescript color, shaded in colors of gray.

PROCESSION OF WOMEN—In purple, white and gold.

# Making Victory Doubly Sure

(*Continued from page 231*)

The Woman's Party organizers who worked in the state shortly before the session began were Anita Pollitzer, Betty Gram and myself. Our work was supplemented by that of Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, political chairman of the Woman's Party, who remained in New York during the campaign securing pressure in support of ratification from the National Republican and Democratic leaders upon their organization in the state.

With women voting in Connecticut it will no longer be necessary to have as a slogan, "Connecticut Trying to Catch Up"—soon it will be changed to "Connecticut Ahead—You Catch Up!"

### Maryland Refuses to Ratify

Failing to follow Connecticut's example, the Maryland legislature, which met in special session on September 20th, to pass enabling legislation providing for the participation of women in the coming elections, refused on September 22d to ratify the amendment. The vote stood forty-three to fifty in the lower House and seven to eighteen against in the upper. This was Maryland's second defeat of the woman suffrage measure, but the vote showed notable changes over the vote last February. Emory T. Coblenz, Democratic floor leader in the House, was conspicuous among the men who had previously voted against ratification and this time supported it. The Republicans in the legislature gave an almost unanimous vote.

The fact that Maryland did not join the states which have ratified was due, in part, to the efforts of the Governor and the Democratic leaders to limit the session to the passage of enabling legislation, and to the fact that Senator John Walter Smith failed to withdraw the opposition which he has constantly manifested against all suffrage measures.

Prior to the opening of the special session, the National Woman's Party sent Miss Pollitzer, legislative secretary, and myself to Annapolis to assist Mrs. Donald Hooker, Maryland state chairman, and her board, in adding one more, if possible, to the ratified states.

On the same day, that ratification was defeated, the Maryland legislature passed bills providing additional registration days for women. **Catherine Flanagan.**

### In Tennessee

The Tennessee Supreme Court met on September 20th, but the anti-ratification suit threatened by the forces opposed to suffrage has not yet been brought before it. The injunction suits brought in the District against the validity of the amendment are also still pending before the Circuit Court of Appeals, although the District Attorney's office of the District of Columbia has moved to secure their dismissal. Unless dismissed, they are due to come up on October 4th.

The legal confusion which has occurred in Tennessee since ratification by that state is set forth in detail by Miss Sue White, Tennessee chairman of the Woman's Party, who is in Tennessee watching the legal developments and protecting the amendment.

"Every conceivable quibble," Miss White says, "that could be raised, was resorted to by the opponents of suffrage to confuse the issue and defeat ratification in the 36th state. Even after the vote in the House of Representatives on August 18th, a spiteful campaign of outlawry and parliamentary sharp practices was undertaken to mar the record of Tennessee's action, and if possible steal from suffragists the victory they had won.

### Anti Fuss and Fury

"So far, it has amounted to nothing but fuss and fury, and the worry with which one fights off unreasonable pests.

"It was said that Tennessee had not the power to ratify. Yet Tennessee has ratified. An injunction suit was brought against Governor Roberts to prevent his certifying the act of ratification. Yet the certificate has been sent. An injunction was brought against Secretary of State Colby to prevent his issuing the proclamation. Yet the proclamation has been issued.

"At every step of the way, suffragists have been made to 'show cause' in due and proper form, while their opponents engaged in such bandit methods as fleeing the state to break a quorum and remaining away for ten days, slipping back when suffrage members were at home for the week end, and undertaking by less than a constitutional majority to tamper with the record, to expunge, reconsider and non-concur.

"The two injunction suits, one brought in Tennessee against state officials, and one brought in Washington against federal officials, are still pending. But it is not expected that their final decision will reach the main contentions of the anti-suffragists, but will probably only declare the impropriety of enjoining ministerial acts of executive and state departments. In the case brought in Tennessee, the injunction was granted by the Nashville judge to whom the bill was presented, but later the injunction was vacated by a writ of supersedeas granted by Chief Justice D. L. Lansden of the State Supreme Court. The act sought to be enjoined in this case—the certification by Governor Roberts of ratification—has been performed. In the case brought at Washington the injunction asked against Secretary of State Colby was disallowed by the lower court, and the complainants appealed to the Court of Appeals. Likewise, the act sought to be enjoined in this case—the issuance of the proclamation—has been performed.

"What further exhibition of the legal erudition of anti-suffragists is in store for us remains to be seen, but suffragists who have followed closely the final chapters of the fight have minds prepared for anything.

"There are two legal questions presented in the case of Tennessee's ratification upon which the opponents of suffrage might have endeavored to base further litigation if Connecticut had not ratified.

"These questions are: 1. Is affirmative action on ratification of a federal amendment subject to reconsideration by a legislature. 2. If ratification may be reconsidered, did the proceedings of the Tennessee House of Representatives after

(*Continued on page 258*)

# Industrial Issues for the Woman Voter

**By Mary Anderson**

*Director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor*

IN my opinion the greatest right which American women can secure for themselves through the vote is the right to participate to the fullest and freest extent in the economic life of the nation. The economic question is the most fundamental now confronting the women of this country—it controls every phase of their lives and because of their former political inequality it has become an acute problem.

There are approximately 27,000,000 women in the United States more than 21 years of age. Of these about 12,000,000 at a conservative estimate, or 45 per cent, are engaged in gainful occupations. Consequently, not only because of the large percentage of women voters who are engaged in earning a living, but because their welfare and efficiency determines, to a large extent, the happiness of all other women, the question of the working woman's rights becomes paramount.

First of all the American woman wants the right to a "job," not as one of feminine sex, but as a human being, as a worker. She wants the right to equality in pay and in industrial standards. These she can get only in two ways: organization and legislation.

Women voters as a whole can lend their help through exercise of the franchise to securing for women workers the rights of organization and of collective bargaining. Without the latter right the individual woman has no chance to sell her labor at a price anywhere approaching the standard of living.

One of the primary needs of the women workers is minimum wage laws in the various states. The women voters can bring about the creation of minimum wage commissions in every state.

The Women's Bureau advocates equal wages for women with men, the determination of the wage scale to be established on a basis of occupation and not, as is generally the case, on a basis of sex.

### Lower Pay for Better Work

A typical instance of the employers' attitude toward women was encountered by the Women's Bureau during the war. A manufacturer who had an important war contract wanted to employ women at night work, although there was a law in his state prohibiting the employment of women between the hours of 10 p. m. and 6 a. m. He gave as his reason for urging night work that the women were far better workers than the men, that they did more and better work and that they reported at the factory with greater regularity. When asked what he paid for night work, he said, "We are paying the men 40 cents an hour, with 15 per cent bonus for night work. We will pay the women 25 cents an hour."

He explained his discrimination against the women, despite their greater efficiency, on the ground that "women have not the same family responsibility that men have." Later he admitted that he had a large percentage of women in his employ who had dependent children and that the young girl workers often had the same responsibility toward their families that the young men had. He said that the manufacturers had an understanding that equality should not prevail as to wages for men and women, as equal wages for the women "would bring on a revolution."

The Women's Bureau is now engaged in making a survey in certain localities to ascertain to what extent women engaged in gainful occupations have family responsibilities. I am convinced that the data will prove to women voters the need of the removal of this discrimination against their sex.

Even with minimum wage commissions, as we now have them, we find that women's wages have been raised, in many instances, on a basis of from $1 up to $5 or $6 a week. Although the commissions, in many cases, have set a very low figure as the minimum wage, women's pay has been materially increased, showing the truly deplorable wages which women receive when there are no commissions to act as arbitrators.

North Dakota has a minimum wage in different industries varying from $16.50 to $20 per week. Washington's commission has just issued a minimum wage of $18 a week for public housekeeping. This minimum was contested in court and was decided in favor of the commission's ruling.

The commission of California has just established a minimum wage in the manufacturing industries, including the canneries.

The rulings of the District of Columbia minimum wage commission may be considered an excellent example of the betterment in women's wages which may be effected by these boards. This commission has fixed rates for 10,400 women out of the total of 15,700 in private employment in the District. The average minimum wage represents an increase of from $3.50 to $4.50 per week for two-thirds of the 10,400 women. The present wage scale also represents a general increase in the wage scale above the minimum. The number of women receiving more than the present minimum is 14 per cent greater in the printing trades and 6 per cent greater in the mercantile industry than before the commission's orders went into effect.

### Working Days Are Too Long

Women voters can also lend their support to securing a shorter working day. It is a well-known fact that women work longer hours than men. They usually work longer in the factories, and added to this is the time spent in the home performing household duties.

In states in which we now have eight-hour-day laws these laws include only certain industries and often the large percentage of workers are not affected. We have only eight states which have an eight-hour day in some of the industries. We have seventeen states which have a ten-hour day, fourteen which have a nine-hour day and there

is even one state which has a twelve-hour day. Six states have no regulation of the daily hours of work for women. This is a sorry record when compared with the showing made by other nations.

Since the signing of the Armistice, France, Spain, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland have passed eight-hour laws for all workers. The eight-hour law in Italy includes the agricultural workers as well as the industrial workers. Holland has an eight-hour day and a forty-five-hour week for all workers. This is the most progressive legislation enacted by any nation.

These appeal to me as the most important ways in which women can open up larger opportunities for themselves through the ballot. There are, however, numerous other instances of discrimination against women which must be done away with through legislation.

We want an equal chance for the girl with the boy in vocational education. We want equality for women in professional life.

There is gross discrimination against women both in the Government service and in professional life outside the Government. The higher-paid Government positions are closed to women. My statement is backed up by the report of this bureau on women in the Government service, which shows that in 1919 comparatively few women held positions drawing more than $1,800 a year. Ninety-nine per cent of the appointments outside the civil service are held by men, presumably, heretofore, because men were voters and women were not.

As women exercise the power of their vote they will find that they have an ever-widening field before them. The ballot is but the entering wedge—it is the symbol of the beginning of a great work.

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# Women In Industry

**Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer**

**A Great Safety Conclave:**

THE National Safety Council will hold its Ninth Annual Safety Conference at Milwaukee, September 27 to October 1. On the program are two women, Miss Ida May Wilson of the Service Department of Lockwood, Greene & Co., (textiles), Newburyport, Mass., and Miss Mary Baker of Kimberly, Clark Company (paper), Wisconsin. During the time of the convention an extensive exhibit of safety devices and appliances and of equipment for the promotion of the health of industrial workers will be held. Those devices which protect metal grinders and polishers from dust should be of special interest to women in view of the action in New York and Ohio in prohibiting women from operating those machines because of the dust hazard, and in view of the similar contemplated action in Pennsylvania. As pointed out in this department in a previous issue, the significance of barring women from this occupation is greater than appears on the surface, because many other machine-shop occupations involve grinding and polishing. A recent study of the health hazards in the pearl button industry, in which girls are largely employed, shows the grinding and boring of buttons produces much dust that is not carried off by the suction devices with which the machines were equipped. This is a condition which should not result in the elimination of women workers, but in the elimination of the dust.

The American Engineering Standards Committee has made arrangements for the formulation of a considerable number of safety codes. The Safety Codes for abrasive wheels are to be made by the grinding wheel manufacturers of the United States and Canada, and the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards, and the commission codes for foundries are to be formulated by the American Foundrymen's Association and the National Founders' Association.

**Industrial Nursing:**

An Institute of Industrial Nursing will be held in New Haven from September 20 to September 30. The program includes talks on industrial hygiene, industrial disease, psychology, nursing, and industrial relations.

**Southern Trade Union Women to Meet:**

The regional conferences instituted by the Woman's National Trade Union League before the war will be continued in the conference of Southern women to be held in Washington, D. C., the third week in November. Inasmuch as the purpose of having regional conferences is to concentrate attention on conditions of labor in contiguous and nearby states, the November conclave of trade union women will reveal the high spots and the levels in the working hours and working conditions in the great Southern cotton textile mill states. These conferences promote the development of a uniform program of industrial betterment legislation. Concerted action, in the states represented, reduces the force of opposition based on the fear of handicapping competitive industries with restrictive legislation in one state that does not exist in a contiguous or nearby state. Of course, an industry in one state may be in sharp competition with the same industry in another state hundreds of miles away. On the other hand, contiguous states may have but slight competition between their respective industries. However, in the case of the Southern states the dominance of the cotton textiles gives especial force to the argument for a regional program of state legislation. Furthermore, the women of the South only recently have reached that stage of organization that would warrant the calling of such a conference. The meeting, therefore, marks a distinct stage in the growth of concerted action among women workers as a whole. While the textile industries are naturally the chief industries represented, the conference will have representatives from other lines of employment.

**Women Garment Workers' Wage Problem:**

How to make their wages stretch over from ten weeks to five months of unemployment has been the problem of 20,000 women garment workers in New York City and still is the problem of 6,000 more who are out of work at the present time. According to general estimates made by the officials of the two big unions which represent practically the entire needle industry in this city, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated

Clothing Workers of America, this vast body of women constitute about one-third of the total number of unemployed needle workers some of whom have just recently been taken back on their jobs, the remainder (estimated at between 40,000 and 60,000 in the men's clothing trade alone), being without the chance to ply their trade.

**Ten-Hour vs. Eight-Hour Day:**

At present a great deal of attention is being given to the question of fatigue and its bearing on accidents among industrial workers. The United States Public Health Service is taking the lead in making such studies in this country. In a recent bulletin the results of a study of output in a plant operating on an eight-hour day and one operating on a ten-hour day are compared. The report states that the "outstanding feature of the eight-hour system is steady maintenance of output. The outstanding feature of the ten-hour system is the decline of output." Under the eight-hour system the maximum production was reached in the third hour of work, under the ten-hour system in the fourth hour of work. The output in the ten-hour plant was much lower in the first and last hour of work than in the eight-hour plant, although the beginning and closing hours were lowest production periods in both plants. These conclusions have been challenged by the National Industrial Conference Board in a special bulletin just published. In Great Britain an industrial fatigue research board has been established to carry on these studies in the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. The Canadian Government has also established a "Committee on Industrial Fatigue," one of whose eleven members is a woman.

**The Five-Day Week:**

The efficiency of a five-day week has been tried out at a clothing factory in Cleveland where many women are employed. By agreement with the employes, it was arranged that all workers who would turn out the normal five and one-half days' production by Friday night need not return to work on Saturday. Although the matter is optional, the majority of the workers complete their quota by Friday night. The speeding up necessary to do this does not seem to have met with bad results. Women workers are especially pleased with the whole week day to attend to personal duties while the pay envelope remains the same.

An employes' congress in a Cleveland metal working plant where women are employed have guaranteed that production will be maintained if the daily work day be reduced from nine to eight hours.

**Higher Pay for Teachers:**

With the opening of the fall term, the public school teachers of New York state receive their substantially increased salaries. In Massachusetts, a special commission on teachers' salaries, named by Governor Calvin Coolidge, has just made public its report urging legislation to raise the minimum wage of Massachusetts teachers from $550 to not less than $800. The commission also recommends that towns having less than one million dollars valuation, which are exempted from the provisions of the present law as to teachers' salaries, be henceforth included. Figures compiled by the commission show that although living costs increased 100 per cent from 1910 to 1920, the average salary of elementary school teachers increased only 85.1 per cent and that of high school teachers only 50.7 per cent.

**In Great Britain:**

Decision to postpone further discussion of the "Women, Young Persons and Children Bill," which involves the general position of women and children in industry, is announced by the British Government. The bill was introduced in May to put into effect conventions agreed upon by the International Labor Conference which met in Washington last November. The decision to postpone action on the bill is reported to meet with general approval in feminist circles, in which it is felt that the passage of the bill unamended would considerably restrict woman's field in industry.

The chief objections seem to be first, the classification of women with young persons and children, that is, with all under eighteen years of age, as subject to protective legislation. In the second place, the main discussion on the bill has centered, it is reported, around the question of whether women should be allowed to work on a two-shift system. Clause 2 of the bill which permitted the employment of women and children on a two-shift basis, was later withdrawn. The Women's Political and Industrial League of Great Britain is now urging that it be reinserted with the omission of "young persons." The two-shift system, with work beginning at the earliest at 6 a. m. and ending at the latest, 10 p. m., should be permitted on equal terms to both women and men, according to the League, but prohibited for children under eighteen.

On the other hand, strong opposition to the two-shift system for women is voiced by a recent article in *The Labour Woman* (England), which urges a straight eight-hour law for all workers and charges as the results of a double shift "irregular meals, hours stolen from sleep time, work done by artificial light in badly ventilated work places," and condemns a double shift even with an eight-hour day provision, as a backward step in labor legislation. * * *

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After a year's probation, Sir Leonard Dunning, inspector of constabulary in England, admits that "there is no doubt that with regard to two evils—juvenile crime and immorality—the preventive work of the policeman can be better accomplished by a policewoman."

**In Holland**

The Dutch Government has accepted, as the guiding principle for all Government departments, equal pay for equal work for both men and women. This brings Holland in line with the most advanced countries in Europe and America in this respect, but on the other hand, certain proposed new legislation contemplates a backward step. Minister Ralberg announced recently that he would propose a scheme to prohibit the working of married women in factories. Dr. J. G. Beuwer, a member of the second chamber, also presented an amendment requiring the common council to dismiss women teachers under forty on their wedding day, except in the case of head teachers who give lessons of less than ten hours a week. Later information as to the fate of these proposals is not yet available.

# They Say

**McCall's Pays Tribute to the Woman's Party**

"We want to pay our tribute to those glorious rebels of an earlier day who dared custom and ridicule to make a world of opportunity for women. We want to pay tribute also to those younger zealots of the National Woman's Party whose vigorous last push forced the Federal Amendment to a victorious conclusion."—*McCall's Magazine,* 50th Anniversary Number, October, 1920.

WITH the national elections fast approaching, the press has assumed the role of prophet and adviser to the new woman.

Hopefulness as to what women will do with their new power is expressed by the *World Tomorrow,* which rejoices that women are at last recognized as people:

> "The value of woman suffrage is not that it will bring in a political millenium, but that it is a symbol that women are human beings as truly as men, with the right of human beings to a voice in government. And if the ballot is worth anything at all the women certainly ought to have something to contribute through it. Already the suffragists, especially of the National Woman's Party, have worked out invaluable methods of political propaganda and education. We rejoice that their energies are now released to tackle some fundamental problems before the men and women of America. The pioneers of woman suffrage may have had more faith in what political democracy could accomplish than their descendants who saw the triumph of the cause. They could have had no clearer sense of the public task women must help perform."

The Dearborn *Independent* believes the woman vote will be conservative:

> "It has been claimed that on issues involving moral questions, such as liquor, vice elimination and so on, women vote more strongly on the side of reform than men, but there are no figures to substantiate this. Liquor has been fighting a losing battle many years, and was beaten finally on the economic features rather than the moral features.
>
> "On the whole, the women's vote is a conservative and well considered one, perhaps a trifle more conservative than that of the male voters. In the states where women have voted, it has been a suggestive rather than a driving force, and there is no reason to believe that in the national field it will be different."

The New York *Times* attributes the victory in Tennessee to the political shrewdness of suffrage leaders who made the gaining of the thirty-sixth state a party issue:

> "It cannot be said that the Tennessee Legislature decided the question on its merits. The members were not swayed by suffrage arguments pure and simple. The contest became a competition between parties. Tremendous pressure from the outside was brought to bear upon the luckless legislature, and it was pressure of a partisan sort. President Wilson and Governor Cox made appeals in the name of the Democratic party; Senator Harding and Chairman Hays sent messages to the Republican members of the Legislature. It certainly is a tribute to the shrewdness of the women managing the campaign that they were able thus to induce the two parties to bid against each other for the honor—or partisan advantage—of having settled the suffrage question.

*Ding in Denver Times*

**Enter Madame**

The Christian Science *Monitor* predicts that the effect of the ballot in the hands of women will be economic rather than political and counts upon the new voters to help wherever moral reform is needed:

> "There is hope and promise for the nation in the general recognition of this right for the women who help make up its citizenship. Obviously the forces of reaction have done their best to prevent the realization of this hope. But the forward-looking elements in the country can only welcome the advent of women at the polls. Wherever moral reform is needed the women may be counted upon to work for it, and just as the ballot was first sought for economic rather than political reasons, so the effect of the ballot in the hands of the women of the United States bids fair to be not political but economic."

But the Cleveland *Press* would like to see a new factor fused into American politics in the form of a separate woman's party:

> "Just a few kind words to cheer up Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, the suffragist leader, who is appealing for new life for the Woman's Party.
>
> "There's no gainsaying that a united Woman's Party would be all-powerful, politically, since, accord-

ing to the census, there are 26,000,000 women of voting age in our country and the 29,000,000 men of voting age are all split up over ways and means of sneaking, squeezing or spirming into power.

"Of course, sound sense protests against government being run by a sex party. But just look at what a botch the male sex parties have made of it; and after all, what's sound sense between political parties, anyhow?"

The *Freeman* vetoes the idea of a Woman's Party in the following editorial in its issue of September 22d, under the title—

**After a Famous Victory**

"Sometimes nothing is more embarrassing than success, and with woman suffrage definitely won, we can sympathize with those organizations that helped to bring it about, as they now ask themselves, "What next?" Organizations, like the National Woman's Party, brought together and welded into an effective working unit, have now accomplished their ostensible purpose, and may well ask themselves if they any longer have any real warrant for existing. . . .

"The winning of woman suffrage comes at a rather unfortunate time in the history of our political democracy. It comes, in a word, at a time of profound disillusion; a disillusion confined to no one country but common, in varying degrees, to all. . . . Parliamentary or congressional government, political government pure and simple, is everywhere under suspicion. Not only are the bases of representation—territorial, instead of oconomic or professional, units—recognized as wholly inadequate, but the method of representation has become so clumsy and corrupt that it is indeed difficult to speak accurately of representation at all. . . . But over and above all this is a deeper suspicion still. . . . Politics, the whole machinery of the democratic ballot, no less than any other system, is coming to be seen in its true light—a method of exploiting the mass of people by small but powerful privileged interests which possess the organs of publicity and education. For that reason, following the educative discomforts and disillusions of the war and the ensuing peace, masses of workers the world over are turning from the futility of parliamentary or congressional government to direct economic action and cooperation. They are not so much hostile to political government as they are increasingly apathetic toward it, and quite frankly so.

"This is the world-mood which contemporary intelligent women must recognize as that which greets the granting of suffrage to them, and it is a mood which also must be something like a dash of cold water on their former perhaps to fond hopes. . . .

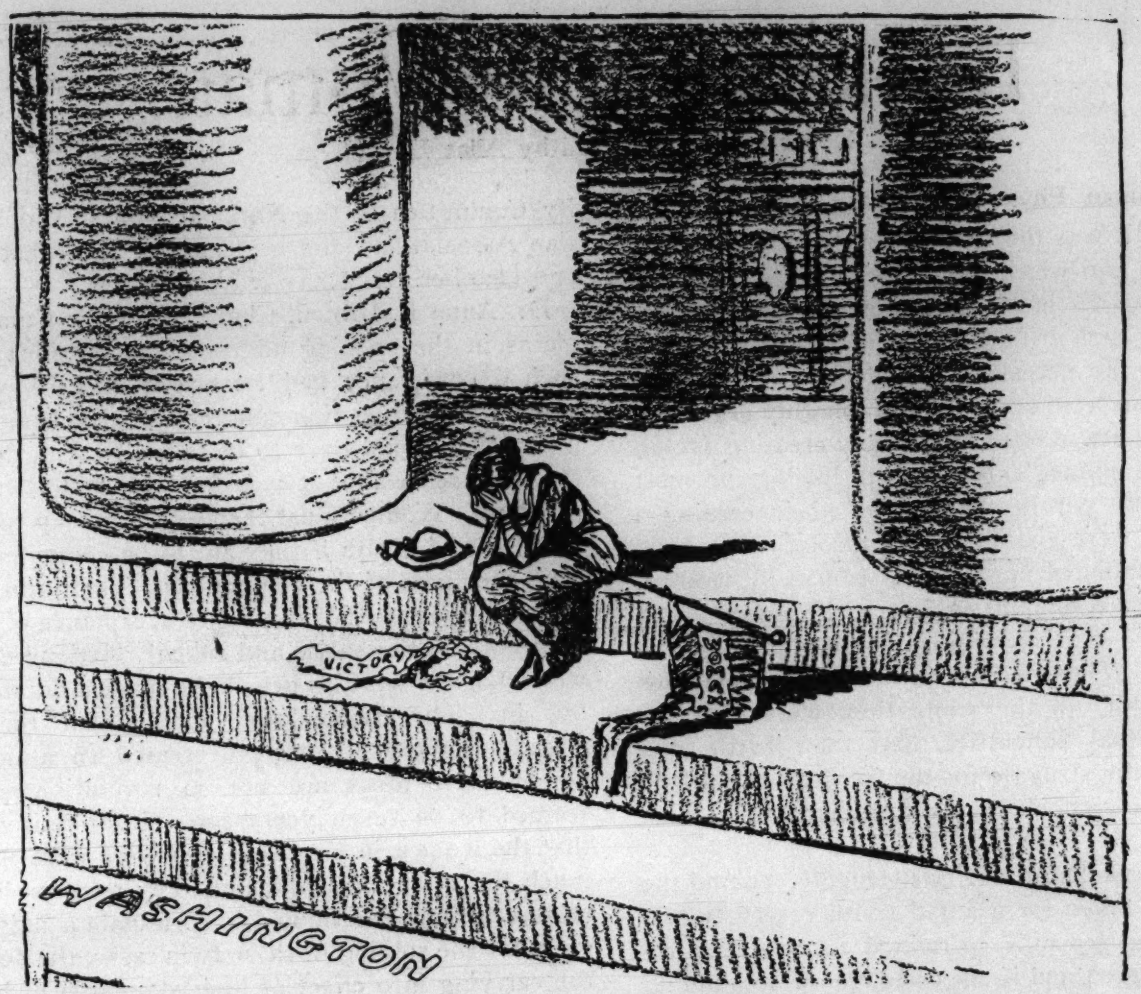
"Of course, if they really wished, there are many specific things these organizations could do. If all the women in them, and their sympathizers, for example, desired a uniform divorce-law of a definite type—if they could all agree upon it and regard it as the paramount objective of all of them—they could easily put such a uniform law upon the statute books, or even into the Constitution.

*Rocky Mountain News*

**If They Only Knew**

Similarly, if they were united on a single educational measure, or a single public-health measure they could by the same methods bend the legislatures to their will. If they care as much about the evil of child-labor as they do about the theoretical right to vote, they can abolish it—at least, by law. . . . The truth is, women, as a class certainly, and even the women within the suffrage organizations we have referred to, are not united on a single measure of this or any other kind. . . .

"Of course, too, these organizations can force women public officials upon us. They can see that women are elected to certain offices and appointed to others. But this, quite aside from the fact that on the whole such elections and appointments will be a good thing, is really very small potatoes for so much effort and idealism. Just to get a few women into administrative and executive offices will hardly be, leaving out the question of any jealousy, a sufficiently inspiring task to hold these organizations together. To sum it up, even if a bit brutally, we can see no reason whatever for these organizations longer to continue in existence. They have won what they went after; and that is what mighty few organizations ever do. They may now be content and rest from their labors. It may be the part of courage never to know when you are beaten; it is the part of decency to know when you have won."




*Oh'o State Journal*

**Resting After the Victory Effort**

*Denver (Colo.) Post*

*Rocky Mountain News*

**Enfranchisement Means the Sky's the Limit in Woman's Sphere**

# Books and the Woman

**Department Conducted by Alice Henry**

### The Woman Physician Finding Herself

MEDICINE was the first of the three learned professions into which the women of our era gained entrance. In breaking into it, the pioneers had to face not only such trifling obstacles as difficulties in the obtaining of the necessary knowledge, but also the deliberate and concerted opposition of a highly organized monopoly, where sex was the monopoly-creating factor. In addition these women suffered from having the most unbelievable blocks put in the way of their earning a living, once they were qualified. All through that early period they had inflicted upon them, woman by woman, even in their own communities, every species of social ostracism. They were outraging, so it was said, the decencies of life. Those first women doctors never for one moment forgot, all the while they were handling their own individual difficulties, that their battle was only one form of the struggle for the freedom of a whole sex. Their entire outlook, every argument they used, shows this.

After two or three decades of this struggle, we find the woman physician taken for granted (with reservations). She was, speaking generally, permitted to receive a diploma or take a degree, and if she could, go on to build up a practice. But to this day many hospitals still throw difficulties in the path of the woman interne, and many more explicitly or tacitly deny her any position on the consulting staff. Under all these limitations the woman doctor has so far made good, and prospects are sufficiently encouraging to induce thousands of women in all the civilized countries to enter the profession.

But meantime the psychology of the situation changed markedly. Women doctors in too many cases entered upon their work with none of the inspiration of their predecessors. They adhered closely to the professional point of view. They were doctors first and women afterwards. They forgot the social implications of their position. Many were not even interested in suffrage, and with an unworthy contentment, they lost all memory of the historical fact that it had been the heart-breaking struggles of suffragists and feminists which had made careers possible for them. They knew that professional positions and honors were largely in the gift of men. They therefore inevitably became climbers, usually accepting the popular side in disputed matters, and only rarely, whenever it came to an open struggle, daring to insist on a hearing for the minority view. There were many splendid exceptions, but the fact remains that the great majority of women doctors were seldom found in the forefront of any battle for the rights of their sex in other fields than their own.

That stage in their development is now passing or past. If one needed proof, it is at hand in the just published Proceedings of the International Conference of Women Physicians, called together by the Social Morality Committee of the National Young Women's Christian Associations, and held in New York last September and October.

Dr. Anna L. Brown, Chairman of the Committee, explains in the opening address that the idea of holding such a conference had its origin in 1913, when some women doctors in this country felt that some very definite action would have to be taken to bring to women a realizing sense that it was for women to act in health problems. Women must themselves live up to far higher standards of health if they are to be competent and efficient members of the community. They must lay aside their old-time attitude of passive acceptance of low standards both in the social and sexual relations of men and women, if the world is ever to be made a decent world to live in. The tremendous changes that the war has already brought about have created an atmosphere in which these ideas are not so revolutionary as they seemed to be seven years ago. It presently appeared that the women in European countries were thinking on much the same lines, and that they were probably even more definitely determined to formulate a universal program for the solving of these twin tasks, the defining and the carrying into effect of high standards of health and morals.

Dr. Katherine B. Davis and Dr. Edith Hale Swift were selected to go to Europe, talk over the plan with women physicians in the different countries, and invite leaders in this field to come to America to aid in the planned-for conference.

The answer to this appeal was the coming together of women physicians from England, France, Holland, Italy, Norway, Russia, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, Serbia, China, Japan, Argentina, Uruguay, Canada and the United States. Three Danish women were hindered from coming by shipping difficulties.

The gathering was not remarkable for size, for the foreign women did not exceed thirty in number, though many hundreds of American women, both physicians and laywomen, and some men, attended as visitors. The unique feature was the extraordinary seriousness and thoroughness with which it was conducted. Who ever heard before of a conference that lasted six weeks, working by a program, of which every session grew out of the preceding one?

The *Proceedings*[1] are now out. They cover:

Volume I, General Problems of Health; Volume II, Industrial Health; Volume III, The Health of the Child; Volume IV, Moral Codes and Personality; Volume V, Adaptation of the Individual to Life; Volume VI, Conservation of the Health of Women in Marriage.

---

[1] Proceedings of the International Conference of Women Physicians. The Woman's Press, 600 Lexington Ave., New York. 1920. Published in six paper-bound volumes, purchasable either separately or by the set.

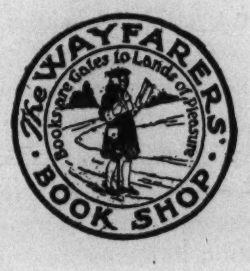
Large space is given to physical exercise, as the most neglected health habit, and a section to the latest word in feeding the individual and the nation. Another address calls upon women to have faith in themselves physically, and not to sink back believing they are such incapables as popular philosophy has adjudged them. The conservation of women's strength by community plans for feeding the family is included. The Chief of the Children's Bureau has an address on the most effective methods to save baby lives.

Dr. Kristine Mann sums up the discussions on Industrial Health by outlining the need for "A Woman's Movement for the Conservation of the Health of Women."

Space fails to recount even the titles of the papers in this many-sided treatment of womanhood from the physical side, whether as an individual, a worker, or a citizen. This discussion forms the foundation for the second, and by far the more difficult, venture, in which the addresses transport us far below the surface of every-day observation, beginning with the study of human beings as the newer psychology is revealing us to ourselves. Sex is dealt with as one of the expressions, and one only, of the creative impulse, therefore as an important factor in life, and one of its least understood elements. The addresses of Dr. Constance Long, of London; Dr. Trigant Burrow, and Dr. Beatrice Hinkle stand out as typical of what we are beginning to learn of our own emotional lives. One of the things we learn is how little we yet know of what are actually the likenesses and the differences between men and women in any field. Dr. Hinkle thinks we use the terms "masculine" and "feminine" in an utterly arbitrary fashion. What we really mean is the active type and the brooding type, and man or woman may be either.

The concluding addresses cover a program of social hygiene, treated from many different points of view. These include thoughtful criticism of methods of prophylaxis against possible results of immorality by Mrs. Donald R. Hooker and Dr. Mary Gordon (Supervisor of Prisons for England and Wales).

Throughout the various discussions there can be distinguished three groups of women, with three differing trends of thought. There are representatives of those pioneer women who bravely years ago faced the intolerable wrongs of prostitution and disease, and who today see part of their fight won, although another part of it has to be renewed under modern conditions. There are those who have helped to construct new ideals and plan out new programs for physical well-being in every line, including a healthy sex life. The third group, which is engaged in building upon the accomplishments of the first two, are chiefly concerned with discovering and analyzing the foundations of character: how much is temperament, how much environment, enquiring what are the factors in friendship, how does the mind of the child develop, and how we may fathom the meaning of what goes on in ourselves all the time, in the unconscious depths of our being.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## Making Victory Doubly Sure

(*Continued from page 249*)

its action of August 18th, amount to a valid reconsideration. reconsideration.

"It should be borne in mind that in ratifying amendments, legislatures act in a political rather than a legislative capacity. Any subsequent legislature may repeal laws passed by a former legislature, but it is well settled that subsequent legislatures may not reconsider or rescind resolutions ratifying federal amendments. The question in Tennessee's case could arise only from the fact that the attempted reconsideration was the act of the same session which ratified.

"In a letter written by Attorney General Frank M. Thompson on August 20th, to T. K. Riddick, floor leader of suffrage, the Attorney General gave as his opinion:

> "'1. The vote of the House on August 18th was final and said proposed amendment is now a part of the federal constitution.
>
> "'2. The motion to reconsider has and can have no application to said action or effect upon the same.'

"After the favorable vote of August 18th, Speaker Walker failed to call up his motion to reconsider within the two days allowed him. During the two days a protest was prepared by Mr. Riddick against the motion to reconsider, with the opinion of Attorney General Thompson, which it was proposed to spread on the minutes and then vote down the motion to reconsider; or if it was not called up by Mr. Walker, then it was planned that Mr. Riddick would call it up on the third day and spread the opinion of the Attorney General on the record showing that the motion was illegal, and then vote it down.

"However, between sundown of the second day and dawn of the third, thirty-seven members of the House left the state and broke a quorum (the constitution of Tennessee requires two-thirds of the members as a quorum.) When the House met on August 21st, without a quorum, more than a third of the members having illegally absented themselves from the state, the suffrage members took from the journal the motion to reconsider and voted it down by a vote of fifty to nothing, which was a majority of all those to which the House was entitled.

"After ten days, the absconding members returned, when a number of the suffrage members had gone home, and on August 31st attempted to expunge the House Journal of the vote of August 21st. The motion to expunge received only forty-seven votes, which is less than a majority of the total membership, and therefore void under Roberts' Rules of Order which controls the House procedure in cases which its own rules do not cover.

"After the attempt to expunge, the motion to reconsider was carried by a viva voce and then a motion was made to non-concur in the action of the Senate. This could not be done until the action of the 21st was expunged, which, as has been shown, was not accomplished, because there was not a majority of the entire membership voting to expunge.

"Of course, if ratification is not subject to reconsideration, the motion to reconsider was invalid and everything that occurred after August 18th was a farce. Even if the motion to reconsider was valid, there is a question as to whether or not it continued to be alive and pending after the two days expired."


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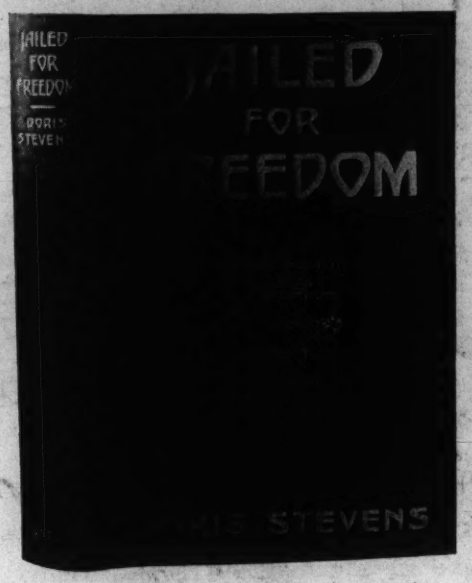


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